



ACCOUNT OF SCOTLAND.

No. V.

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At the close of the last number, I informed my readers that I had arrived in this little and most beautifully-situated manufacturing town, which is an ancient borough of the county of **AYR**, and of which I shall have to say a good deal by-and-by, after I have gone back, in order to do something like justice to the banks of the **CLYDE**, and after I have pursued my rout from **GLASGOW** to this place.

The **CLYDE**, the frith, harbours, and commerce of which I have spoken of sufficiently, takes its rise in the lofty hills which divide the counties of **PERTH** and **DUMFRIES** from the county of **LANARK**. Like other great rivers, it has tributary streams falling into it; but it becomes a great river soon after it has tumbled over the celebrated falls of **LANARK**. No man living has ever beheld, in my opinion, a river, the banks of which presented a greater number and a greater variety of views, or more beautiful views, than those which are presented to the eye on the banks of the **CLYDE**. Some persons delight most in level pastures on the banks of rivers; some in woods of trees of various hues; some in hills rising up here and there nearer to, or more distant from, the banks, some of the hills clothed with woods and others with verdure; others (delighting more in utility than in show) seek on the sides of rivers for an in-

termixture of corn-fields, pastures, and orchards; others (having a taste for the wilder works of nature) want to see deep banks, some of them three or four hundred feet high, with woods clinging to their sides down to the water's edge; while there are others (caring nothing about sterility so that they have the romantic) that are not satisfied unless they see the waters come foaming and tumbling down rocks thirty or forty feet high, with perpendicular sides, as if cleft by a convulsion of nature, and these side rocks crowned at the top with every variety of trees, over the tips of which you, from the opposite bank, see the verdant land covered with cattle and with sheep, or the arable land with corn or with turnips, the finest that the eyes of man ever beheld. Such are some of the various tastes of various persons: let them all come to the banks of the **CLYDE**, and each will find that which will gratify, as far as this matter goes, every wish of his heart.

I do not by any means exaggerate in any one particular. In Scotland or out of Scotland, justice to my subject as well as to my readers would bid me say this; but I am not sure that I should say it if I were not sure that I shall be out of Scotland before it can possibly be read. To be sure, the kind treatment that I received from every soul that I came near, gentle or simple, on the banks of this river, was extremely well calculated to make everything appear to me "*couleur de rose*;" and, if I had been forty years younger, it might well have apologized (considering who were some of the persons from whom I received it) for a very considerable degree of exaggeration; but any description that I can give is very far short of the reality. I have always taken great delight in viewing the earth in almost all its shapes, and in contemplating its various productions. Born in a very beautiful valley, lying in the midst of the wildest heaths in the world, but which heaths are continually presenting

to the eye of the traveller little beautiful spots, I contracted the habit, when a child, of comparing one of these beauties with another, and the habit has stuck to me throughout my whole life. In NOVA SCOTIA and in the United States of AMERICA, how often have I stood to admire the water-falls in the rocky creeks, with lofty banks, trees growing out of the interstices in the rocks! How often have I wished that every soul in England were there to see the same! These creeks, as they call them, are cross rivers, falling into the great river; some of them mere little streams; others, such as we should call rivers; just thus is it with the tributary streams of the CLYDE, with this difference, that, in America, the surrounding country consists of endless woods; whereas, on the banks of these Scotch creeks you see the green hills or the corn-fields over the tips of the trees that cover the lofty banks. These creeks have all their falls upon a smaller scale. The CLYDE itself has three grand falls; the first in going up the river, a little nearer GLASGOW than the borough of LANARK; the second about three miles farther up; the third about a mile above that; and beyond that the river, comparatively insignificant in size, winds gently through a moory tract of land lying at the foot of the mountains. The first of these falls brings the water down sixty feet from the bed above; the second about eighty feet; the third not so much. The middle falls are just above the manufacturing village of NEW LANARK; the vast and various machinery of which is put in motion by the waters, taken in a most curious manner out of the river, and applied to these purposes. This NEW LANARK, of which we have heard so much as connected with the name of Mr. OWEN, stands upon a little flat, which nature has made on one bank of the river, on which the manufacturing buildings stand, and also dwelling-houses for the work-people. This village is about a mile and a half from the town of LANARK. At one end of it is a beautiful park, which, together with its mansion, are occupied by Messrs. WALKERS, who are the ma-

nagers of this manufacturing concern on account of a company called the "NEW LANARK Company." This house and park were the residence of the Lord Justice Clerk, Mr. QUEEN, who was made Lord BRACKSFIELD (the name of this seat), after his famous works with regard to MUIR, PALMER, GERRALD, and MARGAROT, those parliamentary reformers who were transported by the sentence of this man. In this house, which looks down into the CLYDE, at about two hundred yards distance, and is in every respect as beautiful a spot as can well be imagined, I was lodged in the very same room which contained the present imperial slaughterer of the Poles, and the present LORD CHANCELLOR, who, *in his way*, is full as great a man as the other, and entitled to full as much admiration. In going from the town of LANARK, down to the new village, you come to a spot, as you descend the hill, where you have a full view of the great falls of the CLYDE, with the accompanying rocks and woods which form the banks of the river. At the same time you see the green hills, and the cattle and sheep feeding on them, at the summits of the banks on each side, and over the tops of the trees. The fine buildings of the factories are just under you; and *this*, all taken together, is by far the most beautiful sight that my eyes ever beheld.

We went up to the very edge of the falls, stood upon the tips of the rocks and looked down upon the smoking water. In the crevices near the tops of the rocks, the jackdaws have discovered inaccessible places for depositing their nests; and here I saw such multitudes of that bird, such as I had never seen before. There were thousands upon thousands of them skimming about over a sort of bay, formed by the twirling water after it comes down the falls. I could see that their mouths were open, but the noise of the water prevented me from hearing their chattering, for which I was very sorry, as the same noise necessarily prevented them from hearing an invitation which I gave them, to come up and take possession of Lord HOLLAND's new church, in

"ADDISON ROAD," near "*Cato Cottage*" and "*Homer Villa*," in the sensible parish of KENSINGTON. On the side of the rising hill, on one side of these falls, is the seat of Lady MARY ROSS, sister of the Duke of LEINSTER, who has very kindly had paths made in her woods, for the convenience of persons coming to see the falls. On the other side are the remains of an old castle (rising up amongst the trees) called COREHOUSE CASTLE, near to which is the seat of a Mr. CRANSTOUN, a Lord of Session, who has now the title of Lord COREHOUSE.

After having been to the falls, we came back through the manufacturing village. All is here arranged with great skill; and everything that you behold, dwelling places of the people (about fourteen hundred in number); their dresses; their *skins*; all bespoke cleanliness and well being; all savoured of the Quaker. I have never been into any manufacturing place without reluctance, and I positively refused to go into any of them here, alleging, that I had no understanding of the matter, that the wondrous things that are performed in these places, only serve, when I behold them, to withdraw my mind from things which I do understand. Mr. BELL prevailed upon me, during my first visit to the CLYDE, to stop at a manufacturing village, belonging to the Messrs. MONTEITH, at a place called BLANTYRE. Here the water-wheels were wonderful to behold; but they afforded nothing interesting to me, who thought a great deal more about the condition of the people, which appeared to be very good here, also, than I did about the cause of the movement, or about the mechanical effects of the machines. Being at NEW LANARK, however, I was rather curious to know whether there were any reality in what we had heard about the effects of the Owen "*feelosofy*." I had always understood that he had been the author of his own great fortune, and the founder of this village; but I found, that the establishment had been founded by a Mr. DALE, who had had two or three daughters with great fortunes; that Mr. OWEN had got one of these

daughters, and one of these fortunes; that Mrs. OWEN had been dead for some years; that the concern had long been in other hands; that the only part of it which was ever of his invention, was a large building, in which the "*feelosofical*" working people were intended to eat and drink in common; that they never did this; that there had been a place at some distance from LANARK, fixed upon for the execution of the "OWEN PLAN;" that a large space had been surrounded with a high stone wall for the purpose; that the scheme had been abandoned; and that the wall had been taken down, and sold as *old stones*! The building, in NEW LANARK, which OWEN had erected for the "*feelosofers*" to carry on their community of eating and of drinking, is used as a *school-room*; and here I saw boys in one place, and girls in another place, under masters appointed for the purpose, carrying on what is called "education." There was one boy pointing with a stick to something stuck up upon the wall, and then all the rest of the boys began bawling out what that was. In one large room they were all *singing out something* at the word of command, just like the tribe of little things in *Bolt-court*, who there stun the whole neighbourhood with singing "*God save the King*," "*the Apostles' creed*," and the "*Pence table*," and the fellow, who leads the lazy life in the teaching of whom, ought to be sent to raking the kennel, or filling a dung cart. In another great apartment of this house, there were eighteen boys and eighteen girls, the boys dressed in Highland dresses, without shoes on, naked from three inches above the knee, down to the foot, a tartan plaid close round the body, in their shirt sleeves, their shirt collars open, each having a girl by the arm, duly proportioned in point of size, the girls without caps, and without shoes and stockings; and there were these eighteen couples, marching, arm in arm, in regular files, with a lock-step, slow march, to the sound of a fiddle, which a fellow, big enough to carry a quarter of wheat, or to dig ten rods of ground in a day, was

playing in the corner of the room, with an immense music book lying open before him. There was another man who was commanding officer of the marching couples, who, after having given us a march in quick step as well as slow step, were disposed of in dancing order, a business that they seemed to perform with great regularity and elegance; and, it was quite impossible to see the half-naked lads of twelve or thirteen, putting their arms round the waists of the thinly-clad girls of the same age, without clearly perceiving the manifest tendency of this mode of education, to prevent "*premature marriages*," and to "*check population*."

It is difficult to determine, whether, when people are huddled together in this unnatural state, this sort of soldier-like discipline may or may not be necessary to effect the purposes of schooling; but I should think it a very strange thing, if a man, calculated to produce effect by his learning, could ever come to perfection from a beginning like this. It is altogether a thing that I abhor. I do not say that it may not be useful when people are thus unnaturally congregated; and, above all things, I am not disposed to bestow censure on the *motives* of the parties promoting this mode of education; for the sacrifices which they make, in order to give success to their schemes, clearly prove that their motives are benevolent; but I am not the less convinced that it is a melancholy thing to behold; that it is the reverse of *domestic life*; that it reverses the order of nature; that it makes minds a fiction; and, which is amongst the greatest of its evils, it fashions the rising generation to habits of *implicit submission*, which is only another term for civil and political slavery. However, the consolation is, that it is impossible that it ever should become anything like general in any nation. The order of the world demands that nine-tenths of the people should be employed on, and in the affairs of, *the land*; being so employed, they must be scattered about widely: and there must be *homes* and domestic life for the far greater part of the rising

generation. When men contract a fondness for anything which has a great deal of novelty and of strangeness in it; when they brood over a contemplation of some wonderful discovery which they think they have made; when they suffer it long to absorb all the powers of their minds; when they have been in this state for any considerable length of time, they really become *mad*, as far as relates to the matter which has thus absorbed all their mental faculties; and they think themselves more wise than all the rest of mankind, in exact proportion to the degree of their madness. It is unfortunate enough when follies of this sort lead only to disappointment and ridicule; but the parties become objects of real compassion, when the eccentric folly produces dissipation of fortune and the ruin of families.

From this account of the "*OWEN-PLAN*" I come to something a great deal more pleasant, the numerous and plentiful and beautiful orchards on the banks of the *CLYDE*, on its two great tributary rivers, the *CAULDER* and the *AVEN*, and on the banks of the numerous *glens*, which terminate when they arrive at one or the other of these rivers. Now, I have seen the orchards over the greater part of Devonshire, Somersetshire, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, and Worcestershire. I have seen the orchards in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and in that "*garden of America*," Long Island; and I have never seen finer orchards than on the banks above mentioned; and I have never seen, at one time, a more beautiful show and variety of apples, than I saw on the table of Mr. HAMILTON, of DALZELL-HOUSE, on the 29. of October. The apples, pears, and plums, were gathered in; but there were the trees, and the leaves still upon them; and more clear, more thriving trees I never saw; and I believe that some of them surpassed, in point of size, any that I had ever seen in my life. At the exquisitely beautiful place of Mr. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS, called MAULDSLIE CASTLE, which is situated in a beautiful flat, washed on one side by the *CLYDE*, and having a semi-circular wood run-

ning round the back of it at a convenient distance; at this place I saw, standing out in the park as ornamental trees, apple-trees, which I thought extended their lateral branches to twenty feet in every direction from the trunk of the tree, which, observe, is a circumference of a hundred and twenty feet, forming a shade quite sufficient for fifty oxen to lie down in. These trees were straight in the trunks, and their top shoots perfectly vigorous and clean. I *may* have seen larger trees in Herefordshire and Long Island; but I do not think that I ever did see any so fine, taking trunk, branches, and cleanness, altogether. But these fine orchards are *general*, all the way up the CLYDE, from very near GLASGOW to the falls of that river. Mr. PRENTICE, the editor of the *Glasgow Chronicle*, has the good sense to have a pretty considerable farm, at six or seven miles from GLASGOW. About three English acres of his land form a garden and orchard, the trees of which are about six years old, very fine, quite free from canker, bearing very fine fruit. The cherry-trees are very fine also; the plum-trees are fine; and an orchard is not a mere matter of ornament or of pleasure here, but of prodigious profit; under the apple and pear-trees are gooseberry or currant-bushes, very well managed in general; and these orchards very frequently yield *more than a hundred pounds sterling in one year from an English acre of land!* This year, it is very curious, that the crop of apples and pears has been extraordinarily small, while it has been so extraordinarily large in all the apple counties of England. Like other things, the fruit here has fallen in price since the time of the PANIC, in spite of the "*cherished one-pound notes*," as Sir JOHN SINCLAIR calls them. Money has not grown up "*like grass under the cow's mouth*," as Mr. ATTWOOD says it ought; and therefore the pecuniary produce of orchards, like that of fields and manufactories, has been greatly diminished. But these orchards are always a source of very considerable income. I think that my friend Mr. M'GAVIN, of HAMILTON, told me that his orchard, which is less

than an English acre, has yielded him eighty pounds a year, clear money; and it is no uncommon thing for the proprietor of ten or a dozen acres, to sell the fruit by auction upon the trees, for something approaching a hundred pounds an acre. In our apple counties no man thinks of any thing but fruit to make *cider* and *perry*: here, the whole is table-fruit; and, as I said before, I have never seen so great a variety of fine apples in England, at one time, as I saw upon the table of Mr. HAMILTON, of DALZELL-HOUSE. This orcharding is a real *business*; it is conducted in a very excellent manner; a cultivation of the land generally takes place amongst the trees; the trees are kept in a very nice state; I saw scarcely any canker; no cotton-blight; and in very few orchards did I see any moss, though I did see it in some.

Amongst other pleasing things belonging to these orchards, Mr. STEWART (the proprietor of some very fine orchards) has some American trees, sent to him by me, which are just beginning to bear, and he gave me a very fine apple which had been gathered from one of them this year. "Cast your bread upon the waters," says the precept, "and have patience to wait to see it return." I sent from England to Long Island, to Mr. JESSE PLATT, to send me some *cuttings* of apple-trees; they came to me at KENSINGTON; Mr. M'GAVIN, at HAMILTON (four hundred miles from KENSINGTON), got some of the cuttings after they came from Long Island; he put some of them upon some of the branches of his trees: and he showed me a bough which had proceeded from this cutting, from which he gathered forty pounds weight of fine apples last year! What a deal have I done in my life-time to produce real and solid good to my country! and how different has been the tendency of my pursuits to that of the pursuits of the noisy, canting, jawing, popularity-hunting, newspaper-puffing fellow, BROUGHAM, who, or whose partisans, cannot point to one single *good thing* that he has ever accomplished!

Mr. HAMILTON, of DALZELL, took me



and Mr. BELL to LANARK, as I have before mentioned, on the 1st of November; on our return to GLASGOW on the 2nd, he was kind enough, in pursuance of previous invitation, to take us to Sir HENRY STEWART's, at ALLANTON. I had met Sir HENRY STEWART at DALZELL-HOUSE, on the previous Sunday; and he had done me the honour to present me (in my character of brother tree-planter) with a copy of his book on the removing and planting of trees. This book is not to be read in a hurry, being full of principles and of science; but before I got to ALLANTON, in spite of *dinnering* and other hubbubing, I contrived to find time to read some part of the book. Sir HENRY STEWART lives in a very ancient family mansion, in the midst of his own moderately-sized estate. He found the spot around the house destitute of trees, and, therefore, destitute of beauty; and he has actually, by his own mechanical operations, made it as pretty a landscape as can possibly be imagined. A run of water, or rather a soak, that came down a sort of swamp, he has turned into a very beautiful lake; and, as to trees, he has brought them, *of all sizes*, from the size of your leg to the size of your body and a great deal bigger, and placed them about upon the ground just where he pleased. Landscape has been his study, and anything in greater perfection than this, as far, at any rate, as relates to trees, it is impossible to conceive. The trees are not only of the proper sorts, but in their proper places; not only present the greatest possible variety that nature has given them, as to kind, height, and form; but *every tree is in a state of vigorous growth*, having an appearance of having grown from a seed upon the spot; shoots at the tops of them two or three feet long; and not leaving the smallest room to suppose that they had ever been removed at all. How many country mansions are there in England that stand in need of the hand of Sir HENRY STEWART! He showed me trees as big round as my body, which he had caused to be taken up and carried a mile, or thereabouts, and to be planted where I saw them, at

an expense of about fifteen shillings a-piece. To know how he has done all this, you must read his book, it being impossible for me to give anything like an adequate description of the operation.

From Sir HENRY STEWART's, which lies a few miles distant from the CLYDE, we came back to DALZELL-HOUSE, on our way to GLASGOW, passing through the estate of Sir JAMES STEWART, at COURTNESS; and here I saw some of the prettiest *hedges* that I had ever seen in my life. They are composed of a mixture of beech and of whitethorn, with a great predominance of the former. They are about seven feet high from the ground to the top; the base about seven feet wide, and nicely clipped on both sides up to a ridge. The fields, in one part that we went through, were fine pasture; on the side there was a dairy of beautiful AYRSHIRE cows, and over the other hedge a little drove of West Highland cattle, feeding into fat beef. These hedges are very common all over Lanarkshire. Sometimes they are clipped into the shape of a *wall*, lower or higher, according to the fancy of the owner, and always in good taste. On our way we were shown the seat of Sir ALEXANDER COCHRANE, and then, passing through the grounds, and close by the house, of Lord BELHAVEN, we came to Mr. HAMILTON's, at DALZELL, which is, after all the endless variety of pretty country seats on the CLYDE and on the CAULDER, the AVEN, and on all the GLENS which are tributary to these large waters, the place at which, if I were to be compelled to reside in Scotland, I would choose to reside. In point of beauty, Mr. DOUGLAS's, at MAULDSLIE, does, perhaps, exceed all the rest. A Mr. LOCKHART has a most beautiful place, fine woods, trees of great height and girth, where I was shown a Spanish chestnut-tree, twenty-four feet round; another Mr. LOCKHART has a beautiful seat on the CLYDE. In short, it is all such a mass of pretty places, and all with stone-built mansions, of the most solid structure, and in the best possible taste; that one is at a loss to say which one would like

best ; but, if I were compelled to choose, I would choose Mr. HAMILTON'S, of DALZELL. The most amiable manners of the parties within might have some sway with me in this decision, but the place itself was just to my taste ; the house a very ancient structure, with plenty of room ; from the windows of one end you look into a deep *glen*, where the waters come tumbling over rocks, and wash, in the time of high water, the walls of the ancient castle ; the trees in this *glen*, ashes, beeches, oaks, elms, as tall, and nearly as straight, as the tulip-trees in the glens in America, with all sorts of native underwood, not forgetting an abundance of yews ; the bridges across this *glen* ; the walks winding about on each side of it ; the orchards, and the fruit trees mixed amongst forest trees, seen from the windows of the other parts of the house ; the fine low lands and meadows (at the end of the pleasant walks through the orchards), down upon the banks of the CLYDE, where it runs as smooth as if there were not a rock in the country, and where it is lined with beeches and sycamores and ashes, as large and as lofty as I ever saw : then, on the other side of the house, at the end of half-a-mile of gentle up-hill, through some very fine plantations of larches and of oaks, a farm-house and farm-yard, and pastures with dairy cows feeding, and Highland cattle fattening : all these put together, made me think this the place, of all the places in Scotland, that I should like to live at. There is nothing to be called a view from the house itself ; but, on a part of the estate, where this bank of the CLYDE becomes steep and lofty again, there is a view of the CLYDE, and of the grand palace and park of the Duke of HAMILTON ; there is a view here, to behold which all strangers are taken to see. I did not think it equal to the view at LANARK ; but it is very fine, very grand, and is the boast of the CLYDE.

Well, then, should I not like to *live* here better than amidst the really barren heaths and sands of Surrey, with only here and there a little dip of ground on

which it is worth while to bestow labour ? Oh ! That is quite another matter. To *live* here is a proposition not to be decided on without consulting the heart as well as the eye. That philosophy was quite sound which said that "our last best country ever was at home ;" and mind, where you do not find this feeling implanted in the breast, nature has not done her work well. Where there is not this feeling, there will be but a very feeble love of country ; for we go on, first, from our own families and neighbours and parish to our own counties ; then to our own country at large ; and, observe as long as you will, you will find that he who is not more attached to the spot on which he was born than to any other spot of his country, will very easily bring himself to like any other country as well as his own. Hence it is that we always find the patriot-passion most strongly implanted in the hearts of the common people ; and if it had not been more strongly implanted in those hearts than in those of the renegado pretended *higher* orders and *feelosophers*, who have gone from Scotland to England, Scotland would, at this day, have been wholly abandoned, instead of presenting, as it does, such a mass of public-spirited men, resolved upon a restoration of their rights.

It is curious, that, the substratum of the land here is just that sort of *red stone* which is everywhere the substratum in Devonshire, Somersetshire, Herefordshire, Worcestershire, and Gloucestershire, which are the counties of orchards. Sometimes here is white stone beneath ; but, generally speaking, it is *red* ; and the top soil is very frequently red also ; and here is iron stone frequently found near the top of the ground ; and coals are everywhere at no great distance, precisely as it is in the vicinity of Ross in Herefordshire ; and the rocky glens here, precisely resemble those of the forest of DEAN, and on the banks of the WYE. I believe that this vein of red ground and stone runs the whole length of the island, for I have traced it from Devonshire to COVENTRY, with my own eyes. I find

it here upon the CLYDE; and, I dare say, it winds about till it comes out somewhere or other at the north end of the island. Wherever apples will grow well, HOPS will generally grow. In a *Register*, written last summer, I observed, that, if it were not for this grinding and taxing system of Government, people would grow their own hops all over the kingdom; that God had given them to us, to grow up spontaneously; that I had seen them growing in the hedges from the Isle of Wight to Lancashire, and that I made no doubt, that they were to be found in the Highlands of Scotland. During the time that I was on the CLYDE, Mr. HAMILTON took me to see the "*wild cattle*" of the Duke of HAMILTON, which are kept, *like deer*, on a part of his estate on the banks of the AVEN; which cattle, when of full size, are about the size of the Devonshire cattle: they are all over white, except the ears and the nose, which are black; they are wild, just like deer, fed in the winter as deer are fed, caught as deer are caught, or shot as deer are shot. They form a sort of heir-loom of the family; and are kept, as if they were such, in the exclusive possession of the family. In our way to see these cattle, we stopped at the house of Lady RUTHVEN, which is situated within thirty or forty yards of the top of one of the banks of the AVEN. These banks are two or three hundred feet high, set with trees as thickly as possible, beeches, birches, and ashes, all growing beautifully up out of the interstices of the rocks, upon a bed of which the river comes rattling over below. On the side of the bank on which Lady RUTHVEN's house stands, a beautiful garden has been made by moulding the bank into the form of steps resembling stairs. A little distance above this garden the river takes a wind; a little distance below the garden, you see the river passing under two bridges at some distance from each other, over which two roads pass, both of which, I believe, are turnpikes: so that this is one of the prettiest spots that man ever set his eyes on; and, as if Providence had designed that nothing

should be wanting, there were, within the house, some very polite and obliging ladies, one of whom, was, I was told, Miss Stirling a cousin of Mrs. HALSEY, or HOLSEY, of HENLEY-PARK, in the county of Surrey; and a portrait of which Miss Stirling I, if I were forty years younger, should certainly attempt to draw, however impossible it might be for me to come up to the original. In this garden we found *some hops growing*, a branch of which I gathered and dried, and have now very carefully packed up to take to London, along with a variety of apples, which I intend to exhibit at *Bolt-court*, to the astonishment, I dare say, of nine tenths even of the Scotchmen that are living in London, of whom I never yet met one who seemed to know anything at all about his own country, and who did not seem to assent to the sententious and dogmatical lies of old Dr. JOHNSON, who, from the remissness of Scotchmen themselves, has been suffered to misrepresent their country, and to propagate mischievous error concerning it, from one end to the other of the world. Mr. HAMILTON told me, with regard to *hops*, that their growing upon the banks of the CLYDE, was by no means a new discovery; for that, his father had a whole piece of ground in *hops* sixty years ago; that this piece of ground is now an orchard, and is called the "*hop-garden orchard*."

There are, besides coal-mines, innumerable iron works on the banks of the CLYDE as you approach towards GLASGOW. We went over the bridge, called BOTHWELL-BRIDGE, where the famous battle was fought between CROMWELL and the covenanters; or as HUDIBRAS would have called it, between the land-saints and the water-saints. CROMWELL must have been in reality, what BURKE calls an "*architect of ruin*;" for, everywhere, in Scotland as well as England, when they show you a disfigured and partly-demolished edifice, they ascribe the mischief to CROMWELL. Like the devil, old NOLL, as the cavaliers used to call him, seems to have been everywhere and in all places at one and the same time. The Scotch of the present

day, as well as the Irish, seem to think, that he was the devil for the time being. But, the Scotch sent forth a worse devil than CROMWELL, of whom they do not seem yet to entertain a just degree of abhorrence; namely, that surprisingly wicked old vagabond, BURNETT, who was born here, near one of these beautiful banks of the CYLDE, and after whom they name one of their plums, of which they grow a great abundance. This crafty fellow did more mischief by his quiet scheme, than CROMWELL ever did by his bayonets, bullets, and cannon.

While I acknowledge, with great gratitude, the politeness, the kindness, the unaffected hospitality, with which I was everywhere received, by persons of fortune and of fashion in Scotland, and particularly on the banks of the CLYDE, I am not stupid beast enough to ascribe their conduct towards me to any merit that they thought me to possess. It is possible, indeed, that, in some of the instances my manners (so different from what the atrocious villains of the press had taught them to expect) might have excited feelings of rather a friendly character; but I ascribe their treatment of me to their natural good disposition and their polite education; and their manifest desire to see me, I ascribe solely to that *curiosity* which must naturally have been excited in their minds, to see a man whose name the accursed newspapers, hired and bribed by the accursed corruption, had made to reach the ears of every human being in the kingdom; and in which man, this band of incomparable villains, hired and paid by this incomparable feeder of villany, had made all the world believe that there was something more than mortal. While, therefore, I shall always be proud of the attention shown me by gentlemen so respectable and by ladies so amiable, I would have it understood that I am not coxcomb enough to ascribe it to any other than the true cause.

Before I quit the CLYDE, to which the reader will say I cling, as Adam is said to have clung to Paradise, there is something which I have to mention, of which I am still more proud than of the

things just treated of; something that rouses the politician again, drives away the waterfalls and the trees and the orchards, and which would, were it not a shame, make me forget even the Scotch ladies amongst the rest! I mentioned before that Mr. HAMILTON took me and Mr. BELL to LANARK, on the 1. of November, and that I was to lecture in the town of LANARK in the evening of that day; to do which I had received an invitation from my readers in that town, to which invitation I had given my answer that I would do it. As we were going to LANARK from Mr. DOUGLAS'S at MAULDSLIE CASTLE, we saw, out in the middle of a field, near a cottage, a blue flag flying at the top of a long pole. When we got near enough to see what was upon it, we saw that there was a GRIDIRON painted in colours of gold, with these words over it: "COBBETT TRIUMPHANT;" and on the other side, "PERSEVERANCE, PUBLIC VIRTUE, JUSTICE TO THE WORKING PEOPLE." And, which added prodigiously to the interest of the thing, this flag had been made for the purpose of a reform jubilee, at LANARK, and had been carried at that jubilee long before my coming to Scotland! Now, I will not bid the grovelling, the envious, the mercenary, the bribed, the base, the bloody villains of the London press to look at this; but I will bid Lord Grey to look at it, as something very well worthy of his attention. I will beg him not to try to make up a laugh, as he did, in the Court of King's Bench, while four thousand people were muttering out "shame, shame," at my description of the shearing of the heads of two girls in Sussex by one of STURGES BOURNE'S hired overseers; I will beg him not to try to muster up a laugh at the history and description of this flag; but, seriously to consider, what will finally be the consequences, if he and the *sergeant* WILDE Ministry persevere in obstinately pursuing the conduct of their predecessors, in turning a deaf ear to everything proposed by me! Let him seriously consider this; let him consider whether the question between Whig and Tory,

be not now a mere trifle, compared with the question, *whether my principles shall prevail, or whether they shall not*: whether, in other words, the *MANCHESTER propositions are to be adopted or rejected*. But, to do justice to these good people of the town of LANARK, I must insert the ADDRESS, which was read to me by the chairman of the committee before I began my lecture, in the presence of the audience assembled in the church, and which address was as follows: delivered to me in writing, after it had been read:

"TO WILLIAM COBBETT, ESQ.

"SIR,—We, your readers in Lanark and its vicinity, take the liberty to express ourselves highly gratified by your visit to this place. We have long considered you the most enlightened political writer of the present day; the most honest exposé of the heartless insolence and specious cheatery of public men. You have associated yourself with our best feelings as haters of corruption, with our highest aspirations as lovers of our country, and above all with our most anxious hopes connected with the labouring people. With esteem never interrupted, we have accompanied you through many years of intellectual labour and excitement, and with pleasure indescribable we are now beginning to taste the result; a result rendered greatly more important to your fame, because of the unjust and disgraceful persecution, to which you have been subjected, and the immeasurable magnitude of the THING's power. Sir, we are deeply grateful to you for your exertions in the good cause; we are proud that there is at least one fearless, one independent man in England. We rejoice that your character and merits are now becoming rightly understood and duly appreciated; that your triumph over baseness and misrepresentation will speedily be complete, and that consequently your power of putting to rights the affairs of this great country will be increased a thousand fold. (Signed in their behalf)

"JAMES HARPER."

BROUGHAM and DICK POTTER, and such-like people, will exclaim, "Poh! what's that? Those poor souls at LANARK are quite in a state of seclusion from the world." Very true, BROUGHAM and DICK; but how the devil did they come to hear of me in this their state of seclusion? These two, one a sort of simply spiteful simpleton; and the other a sort of giddy-headed gormandizer of praise, that feeds on newspaper-puffs, as a magpie is said to delight most in sucking rotten eggs; this couple will come to a sort of puzzle upon reading these strange proceedings in Scotland. In England, indeed, amongst the stack-burners and thrashing-machine breakers, they will think it natural enough that I should have partizans; but in the country of "*antalluct*," they will think the devil is got into the people. "I will send them down some of my friend the mountebank's pamphlets," says DICK. "No," says BROUGHAM, "send them down some of my *Penny Magazines*."

Let these fools alone, my Lord GREY, and think a little for yourself about it. Look well at this little ADDRESS from these people at LANARK; and ask yourself what, except their own sincere conviction, could have made them act and speak thus? Ask yourself what power I could have, to have influenced them to do this? What means I, whom they had never seen before, and were, in all probability never to see again, could have had to induce them to do this deliberate act, which cost them some pains, and which, in fact, cost them some little money? No! You will not reason: you have present power in your hands. You will curl up your lip and draw up your nostrils, just as they did when NOAH was actually stepping into the ark.

Before I quit LANARKSHIRE, it is right for me to observe, which I do with great pleasure, that the working people are treated much better here than in the LOTHIANS; that the farms are smaller, the occupations numerous, the proprietorships not a few; that the farm-servants are frequently in the farm-houses, and that the "*boothie*"-system

is by no means so prevalent. Though, mind, small farms have been here moulded into large ones within the last thirty or forty years; cottages have been swept away in very great numbers; the people have been huddled together in great masses; and that every one of these masses has to exist under the continual scowl of a barrack. As to *agriculture*, LANARKSHIRE is a very fine county altogether; it has a due mixture of orchards, woods, corn-fields and pastures. Its cows are generally of the Ayrshire breed; its neat-cattle, the West-Highlanders, and Highland sheep. Near to GLASGOW and PAISLEY, butter and milk are the chief products of the soil. The county is famous for its *breed of horses*; and they are indeed, very fine horses, whether for riding or for draught. These horses, as is the custom all over Scotland, go single, in a cart, and draw a ton weight very well, on a good road. They are not *heavy*, and yet they are stout. They are very much prized all over Scotland; and many of them are taken into England. Now, bidding adieu to LANARKSHIRE for the present, and returning to my departure from GLASGOW, on my way home, which departure I mentioned in my last *Register*, I must here publicly bid farewell to Mr. HAMILTON, of DALZELL, which I do with every sentiment of gratitude for his great kindness to me, and with the most fervent prayers, that, at an age not less than that of his venerable father, he may terminate a life, the happiness of which may meet with as little interruption as any that ever was experienced by any human being.

On Saturday, the 3. of November, I set off from GLASGOW towards England, in a post-chaise, accompanied by my friends Mr. BELL and Mr. TURNER, who took their leave of me at an inn on the road, about fourteen miles from GLASGOW, where I changed horses. In quitting GLASGOW we almost immediately entered Renfrewshire, and passed across it into Ayrshire. A chain of hills intervenes and divides the two counties. For several miles from GLASGOW the land is exceedingly good, natur-

ally, besides the goodness which it derives from its nearness to so populous a city, and from its nearness also to PAISLEY, which we leave a little to our right. After this flat and fine land, we go over about seven or eight miles of high country, not under the plough, except here and there; having some bits of heath and furze here and there, and some moory parts very full of rushes. This is not, however, by any means, a *barren* country. There is grass to the tops of the hills; and, these hills, even to their tops, have numerous *herds of cows* feeding upon them. Sometimes so few as ten in a herd; but, very frequently as many as *fifty*. KINGSWELL, the little place where we changed horses, is in Ayrshire, so famous for its beautiful breed of milking cows, and for the making of that cheese, which is so highly prized all over Scotland, and all along the English border, under the name of DUNLOP-CHEESE. DUNLOP being a little village, about six miles to the right of KINGSWELL, and being in the middle of these extensive hills, which are *pastures* resembling our *downs* in the west of England; but on a bed of rock instead of a bed of *chalk*; none of which latter, by-the-by, is to be seen, I believe, to the north of DUNSTABLE, in Bedfordshire. To see herds of cows instead of flocks of sheep, was a novel sight to me; but this was quite enough to convince me, even before I had made any inquiry at all relative to the *dairies* or the *cheese*, that this is not barren land. From KINGSWELL we soon began to descend into a country of fields and woods; and, coming down a hill, towards a river, by the side of a park set with stately trees, we saw a flag flying from a staff on the top of a fine castle, to signify, as I supposed (after the manner of Duke SMITHSON), that the castle contained at that moment the precious deposit, consisting of its Lord. We were yet a mile and a half from NEW-MILNS, that public-spirited manufacturing village, a deputation from which had come on foot, twenty-four miles, to GLASGOW, to present that address to me which

was published in the *Register*, dated from GLASGOW, and published in London on the 27. of October. The chaise was yet a mile and a half from the village, when the *boys* (always the advanced guard) began to meet us in groups. As we advanced, the groups grew more and more numerous, and the parties composing them continued to increase in size, the *sexes* also becoming duplicate at the same time. Arrived at the very first house in the village, the committee, accompanied with three flags, and a tremendously large *gridiron* on a pole, made for the purpose, met us, with a request that I would be so kind as to get out of the chaise, and walk in the procession to the inn; a request with which I instantly complied, and on we went preceded by a drum and fife. It was a general holiday in the village, every soul of which seemed to be present, from the oldest person down to the baby in arms. Arrived at the inn, I found the magistrates of the BURG, who are called bailiffs, assembled, with a great number of burgesses, to present me with the freedom of the BURG, which they did in due form, delivering to me the necessary document, and I going through the usual solemnities; the chief bailiff stating, as the grounds of this mark of their respect and attachment, that the people of the BURG owed their political knowledge to me; that the nation owed the reform, in their opinion, to me more than to any other man, and more than to all other men put together; and that they had more reliance upon my future exertions than upon those of all other men, to make the reform productive of good to the people. Upon receiving the document into my hand, I said, "Gentlemen, I am a free-

" man of a city, to obtain my freedom
 " of which (which I was compelled to
 " do to be enabled to carry on my busi-
 " ness in it) I had to pay fifty pounds, and
 " I would sell it now for the price of a
 " pot of beer, if it were not necessary
 " to protect me against the persecution
 " of those who carry on the govern-
 " ment of that city, the rulers of which
 " are amongst the lowest of mankind,

" who tax me at their pleasure, who
 " now make me pay a new-church-rate
 " and an old-church-rate, and give me
 " no church to go to; who tax me for
 " the purpose of depriving my fellow-
 " citizens of PORTSOKE Ward of their
 " rights; who expend the resources of
 " the city in guttlings and guzzlings
 " enormous, and who daily add to these
 " oppressions the unspeakable insult of
 " taking away my money, for the pur-
 " pose of purchasing gold boxes and
 " jewel-set swords, to be given to men
 " whom I class amongst the ruiners of
 " my country. For these sufferings (to
 " which I hope the reform of the Par-
 " liament will put an end) this mark of
 " approbation from you is great com-
 " pensation, especially as I deem it a
 " pledge on your part, that you will do
 " your utmost in supporting me, and
 " men like me, in our efforts to obtain
 " redress for those manifold and sore
 " grievances, of which those that I have
 " just mentioned form a part."

I now found that the castle which I had seen with the flag flying upon it, was LOUDON-CASTLE, the seat of the Marquis of HASTINGS; and I further found, that this Marquis had expressed *his desire that I might not be permitted to lecture in the great church of the place*, which led me to observe on divers things connected with this Marquis's relationship to the public affairs, with regard to which I might have been silent, if I had not heard this. How *wise* these people are! What pains they take to get themselves beloved, and to have their unsightly parts kept from people's eyes! Will they *never see*? Puppies and kittens see at nine days old, though born blind. There was some excuse for impudent AYLESFORD, when he and his brutal tenants signed and published a protest against the innkeeper at MERTDEN, *because he suffered me to be in his inn*, though I was very ill from a horrible cold, and required rest for a day or two: there was, on the score of prudence, some excuse for impudent AYLESFORD, the THING being then unshaken; but now, when there is bank reform and church reform, as well as parliamentary reform, all in agitation! Well,

let them go on ; let them be blind to the last ; let them do nothing that shall make one feel regret, whatever may take place.

It was my intention, agreeably to the notification that had been given, just to harangue the people of this excellent village, in the middle of the day ; and then, to push on, and lecture at KILMARNOCK (seven miles distant) in the evening. I found, however, that the disappointment would be so great, that I could not depart ; and, therefore, I resolved to stay here until Monday, and to go to KILMARNOCK (to which I have just sent a messenger) to-morrow evening ; and to stay here and write the *Register* to-day, which, I knew would be extremely gratifying to these kind and good and sensible people.

Wednesday, Carlisle, 7. Nov., 1832.

In the above part of the *Register*, which was written at NEW-MILNS, I had not time to say anything upon a subject which the greater part of my readers will deem to be of very great interest ; namely, the Ayrshire *cows* and *dairies* ; and I will, now, speak of that matter, when I get to that part of my journey where I quit this very nice and very valuable county of AYR. From NEW-MILNS, after lecturing there to a church crammed full of people on the Saturday night ; after writing there on the Sunday (which these people excused on the score of *absolute necessity*) ; after breakfasting with the clergyman of the burgher church, on the Monday morning ; after looking at some beautiful cows, and spending as much time as I could, in talking with the clever men of the village ; after enjoying the surprise of seeing a man who was born upon the *same spot with myself*, and who had strayed from the sand-hills of Surrey, and had been here for fifty years, till he had lost every semblance of the Surrey dialect ; after passing forty-eight hours, as delightfully, as I ever did any forty-eight in my life, I set off in a post-chaise, which had come from KILMARNOCK to fetch me. The country to KILMARNOCK, a very fine farming country, and on every side

dairies of cows. On our approach to KILMARNOCK, which is a manufacturing town, containing from twenty to thirty thousand souls, and a very beautiful, solid, and opulent place, we were met with three banners flying, and, soon afterwards, a band of music ; and in this order were conducted to the *Turf-inn*. I had to come on to DUMFRIES (sixty miles) the next day, and to lecture there at night ; so that I had not a moment to take a look round this fine town of KILMARNOCK. After lecturing in a church, I got to bed as soon as I could ; breakfasted the next morning at the house of Mr. HUGH CRAIG, who had met me at my approach to the town, and took me in his open chaise, behind the flags and the music ; after thus breakfasting, and being delighted with the hospitality ; with the manners, and with everything belonging to Mrs. CRAIG, the heartiness of whose welcome was a thing to admire, but not to be described ; after this, very sorry not to be able to stay another day, in this nice town, in which I had been treated with such signal distinction, in which a band of music had preceded me, to and from the place of lecturing, and, supposing me, of course, to be fond of music, had remained until a late hour to play tunes at the inn ; and in which the people seemed to vie with each other in their eagerness to get at me to shake me by the hand ; extremely sorry not to be able to stay another day in this pretty town, and with a firm promise made to myself to come and make due acknowledgment for its kindness, when I come to Scotland again ; after all this, ruminating what HUME and sweetly-simpering DICK POTTER might, in their wise heads, think of the matter, we set off in a post-chaise to MAUCHLINE, fourteen miles on the DUMFRIES road, there to see the native place of ROBERT BURNS, and to see also, the most ingenious, the most interesting *manufacture of snuff-boxes*, made of the wood of the sycamore, and painted and finished, in all the various shapes and colours that that manufacture exhibits to the eye. Mr. SMITH, the proprietor, most obligingly conducted us through the several departments. Some of the

work-people were hewing out the wood, which, from that rough state, we saw passing on from hand to hand, till it became an elegant piece of furniture for the pocket. Some were making drawings upon paper; others making the paintings upon the boxes; and all was so clean and so neat, and every person appearing to be so well off.

At this little town, we waited the arrival of the stage-coach, which took us on at a great rate from MAUCHLINE to CUMNOCK, soon after which we got into DUMFRIESSHIRE. But, now, let me stop and do justice to this county of AYR, which will always be a great favourite with me. There are some high and mountainous lands in it; but, I saw not one acre of real *barren* land. Some moors; but these not large, and yielding peat so good as to be better than inferior coal. On the banks of its rivers there are excellent orchards; indeed, there are orchards, here and there, all along the road. The country is well set with farm-houses; and hardly any of the farms very large; but, the great glory of this county is its cows and its dairies. These cows are so renowned that you find them, here and there, all over the South of Scotland; and, I am told, that they are scattered about Cumberland and Westmoreland too. In my *Register*, dated from PAISLEY, I think, I spoke of having seen some of these cows, when I went to take a look at the SHAWS-WATER, at GREENOCK. But, Mr. THOM (not "THORN," as my printers have chosen to print it), who went with me to see the SHAWS water-works, and who appeared to have great understanding in such matters, told me, that those which I so admired, were "ugly mongrels;" and this I have really found to be the case; for, when I came to see them at NEW-MILNS, I was almost ashamed to remember that I had admired the others. It is a most perfectly shaped DURNHAM-COW on a reduced scale; and, much more abundant in milk in proportion to the size, and perfectly hardy at the same time. The colour is very handsome; being, generally, a deep-red ground, with white, distributed in somewhat the form of a

branch of a tree. The white colour is prevalent sometimes, and sometimes the animal is pretty nearly quite red all over. Many of these cows will give twenty of our quarts of milk at a time; and the milk is much richer than that of any other cows, except the ALDEN-NEY; and they are not known in the North. It is the habit here to *let*, or *set*, the cows. That is to say, a farmer gives up the produce of so many cows to another person, who is, of course, a sort of labourer. The farmer finds the house, the sheds, the food of the cows, and every thing necessary for the carrying on of the business; and the renter agrees to give him so many stones of cheese, to be delivered at certain stated periods, and to be of a certain quality, for the use of every cow. A farmer, who thus sets his cows, told me, that, this year, he had set his cows for *sixteen stones* of cheese each for the year; but, observe, that, in spite of JOSEPH HUME and his "*feelosofers*," who have caused the people to expend more than a million of money by their vile and silly Scotch job, to make uniform *Imperial* weights and measures; in spite of this foolish and something worse "*Imperial*" weight-and-measure job, which was to make us all regulate our lives and conversations by a standard, founded on the "beating of a pendulum, in a heat of sixty degrees, according to FAHRENHEIT'S thermometer;" in spite of all this most boggling manner of extracting money from our pockets, to put it into those of "*feelosofical*" jobbers; in spite of all this, the *stone in Ayrshire* consists of sixteen pounds; and each pound consists of twenty-two ounces and a half, in spite of JOSEPH, and his jobbing "*feelosofy*," which is a matter for the serious consideration of JOSEPH'S envious co-operator, DICK POTTER; and may become an interesting theme, or exercise, for the pupils in their reformed Mechanics' Institute. This being the case, the *AYRSHIRE sixteen stones* amount to three hundred and sixty London pounds of cheese; and this the farmer now sells at nine shillings and fourpence a stone, hard money; for

the one-pound "*nots*" do not enhance his price one single farthing, and cannot, as long as the Old Lady is compelled to pay in gold. Thus, then, the farmer receives seven pounds nine and fourpence for each cow. If the cow do not yield so much, the renter is compelled to give the stipulated quantity and quality of cheese. Whatever she may yield more he has for his profit, besides having the whey for his pigs; and, observe, it is but a smallish cow, and is not fed upon rich pasture, generally; and the food, as allowed by the farmer, is very little besides oat-straw, all the winter long. If they have anything better, it must arise from the care and exertion of the renter; he must cut the straw into chaff, and boil it, or do something or another to make it better than raw straw. Yet he makes a living out of this, and generally saves money.

I was so delighted with these cows, that I was resolved that my country should not be wholly without them; and, therefore, a very kind friend at NEW-MILNS is to send me up a bull and ten cows, three of them three years old last spring, seven of them two years old last spring; all of them to calve by the month of May next, and the bull two years old last spring. If they come safe and sound, as I dare say they will, they will be worth a Kentish, a Sussex, or Surrey farmer's going fifty miles to see, in the month of June or July next. I have directed them to be caused to rest a week in the neighbourhood of MANCHESTER, and if BARON TOM POTTER have a mind to make it up with me, he will give them a run for a week in the park at PIPKIN-PLACE. The drover has a written direction to take them to some field "near PIPKIN-PLACE, in the parish of PENDLETON;" and I recommend to the electors of WIGAN, when they shall hear of the arrival of this seedling dairy, to go and candidly and frankly make an estimate of the "*antalluct*" of this young Scotch bull; to question him with regard to the principles now proper to be acted upon by a member of Parliament; to ask for an explanation of his ideas relative to the measures necessary for the relief and deliverance

of a nation; to ask him what he thinks of the *Whig-war*, of the "*church reform*," of the "expansion of the currency;" and ask him to show how it is possible for the working man to be benefited by "the improved system of banking," now carried on at the sign of the Three Golden Balls. Then I advise them to put exactly the same questions to DICK POTTER. If the bull talk less nonsense than DICK; discover the possession of less brains than DICK discover; then the electors of WIGAN, if no third candidate offer, will, in duty to their country, their neighbours, and their children, be bound, by every thing sacred amongst men, to reject DICK, and to elect the bull; and upon my soul (and I should not be afraid to take my oath to the fact) I believe that the bull would talk the less nonsense of the two. Oh! I would go a thousand miles to see the looks of these Scotchies, especially at NEW-MILNS, while DICK, or TOM, or SHUTTLEWORTH, or BAXTER, was making a speech to them. To see their looks at them, and to hear them exclaim, "*Eh gude Gode!*" Ah, DICK! I would find other guessmen than JOSEPH HUME; if you were to come to Scotland yourself, instead of sending your dirty pamphlets to GLASGOW; and let JOSEPH HUME take care, or he will get properly chastised for posting down to MANCHESTER to keep you in countenance. I can tell him, that his countrymen look at him with a very suspicious eye; and, that this last movement of his, intended to prop you up in your slanders against me, will only tend to swell into certainty that which before was only suspicion.

I leave AYRSHIRE behind me, with a great deal of satisfaction at having seen it. It is a nice country; not rich, but good and solid; and it is well studded over with comfortable farm-houses, and the accursed "*boothies*" do not offend the sight. It wants, particularly in the manufacturing towns, what all Scotland wants; namely, the English poor-laws, and all the laws of England; but this is a large subject, and of vital importance. There are many matters of interesting moment to be discussed and

settled; but here I, at any rate, mean to make my stand; I mean, let what else will be done or left undone, to fight to the last inch with all the legal means in my power, to cause STURGES BOURNE'S Bills to be repealed, and to establish, beyond all question, the RIGHT of every man and woman, to be upon, to remain upon, and to have a sufficient living out of the land of the country in which they were born. I mean, and I am resolved to make this the first point of all, if I be intrusted with the representation of any part of the people; and I would pledge my life, that BROUGHAM and his *Poor-law* Commission, will shrink into nothingness at the approach of the discussion of the subject.

We reached DUMFRIES about five o'clock in the evening of Tuesday, the 6. and I lectured at the Theatre at half-after seven; and, considering that the people have been frightened half to death about the cholera morbus (of which disease great numbers have actually died here), the attendance was wonderfully good. Poor BURNS, the poet, died in this town, an *exciseman*, after having written so well against that species of taxation, and that particular sort of office. Oh! *Sobriety*! how manifold are thy blessings! how great thy enjoyments! how complete thy protection which thou givest to talent; and how feeble is talent unless it has that protection! I was very happy to hear that his widow, who still lives in this town, is amply provided for; and my intention was to go to her, to tell her my name, and to say, that I came to offer her my respects as a mark of my admiration of the talents of her late husband, one single page of whose writings is worth more than a whole cart load that has been written by WALTER SCOTT.

I was prevented from putting this intention into execution by the necessity under which I was of being at ANNAN, to breakfast at ten o'clock, and to *lecture there at twelve*; after which I had seventeen miles to come to *this city*, in which I am to *lecture to-night at half-past seven*! One would need lead a

sober life to be engaged in "*carryings-on*" like this! But I must make haste along now, for the fellows "*up at Lun-nun*" have got into a war to keep our *pensioner* upon his throne; and most likely, contrary to the wishes of their "*allies*" and to the wishes of our *pensioner's* subjects also. Faith! I must get along; but it is now six o'clock and I must go and shave and dress for the play.

Carlisle, 8. Nov., 1832.

I had not time, last night, to speak of the country from AYRSHIRE, across DUMFRIESSHIRE, to DUMFRIES, from DUMFRIES to ANNAN, and from ANNAN to the river that divides Scotland from England. I have not time to do it now: I must, therefore, leave what I have further to say of Scotland until the next *Register*, which will, *possibly*, be written in *Bolt-court*. It is hard to say, much less to swear, what one will do in such case; but my project is, to go hence on Saturday morning, lecture at PENRITH on Saturday night, go on Sunday and sleep amongst the "*pig-styes of APPLEBY*" (which are to send no more members to Parliament), taking a look at BROUGHAM-HALL in my way, having painted its owner in his true colours at PENRITH; on Monday to lecture at DARLINGTON, on Tuesday at STOCKTON, on Wednesday at BRADFORD, passing through sensible LEEDS, and leaving it to choose between the nominee of the Duke of NEWCASTLE and the nominee of BROUGHAM, the placeman-son of ZACHARY MACAULAY, ZACHARY himself being in our pay. Leaving *sensible* LEEDS to this its alternative, and quitting BRADFORD on Thursday morning; lecture, if they like, at ROCHDALE, on Thursday night; go to OLDHAM on Friday; to MANCHESTER on Saturday, the 17.; to BRUMMAGEN on Sunday, the 18.; and to London on Monday, the 19. There to behold DENMAN on the bench, with a big wig hanging down his shoulders; *Sergeant WILDE*, "*our right and entirely beloved THOMAS WILDE*," a "*right honourable privy-counsellor*," one of that body which Lord COKE calls, "*honour-*

able, noble, venerable, and reverend." There to behold CHARLEY PEARSON I have not yet heard what; but surely, CHARLEY is not to be overlooked! Oh, how I sigh for the sight; how I do long to know what CHARLEY is to be! If there had been a *setting-in*, as the women call it, of peers, in the month of May last, CHARLEY, people about *Fleet-street* said, was to have been one of the batch; and, at any rate, the thing will never be complete till CHARLEY be in it some way or another. Here I must break off, having, by these enchanting thoughts, been led along till I have almost written the eyes out of my head; and I must not do that quite; for I may possibly be charged with the duty of reading cartloads of papers; for loan-maker BARRING said, that the great towns would send "*pushing men, who would read every paper that was laid before the House.*"

WM. COBBETT.

I must not omit to notice a letter which I received from BARRHEAD, to which I was obliged to return an answer, saying that I could not go, as I had fixed, immoveably, on the line of march which I had to pursue. The letter is of no consequence now; but I publish it, as a mark of my respect for the gentlemen from whom it came; and I hereby assure them that, if I return to Scotland next year, which it is my present intention to do, I will go and thank them in person for the honour which they have done me.

"Barrhead, 30. Oct., 1832.

"SIR,—At a public meeting of the inhabitants of this village, held on Friday evening last, it was proposed by some of your admirers, and unanimously agreed to, that you should be invited to lecture here at your earliest convenience. A committee was then formed to correspond with you, and learn at what time and upon what terms you could come.

"We think we may get the burgher church here for your lecture, which we can secure after hearing from you. The lecture would require to

"be in the evening, to suit the inhabitants, as they are nearly all connected with public works.

"I am, sir,

"for the committee,

"yours, truly,

"JAMES LAMBERT."

WHIG-WAR.

RECEIVING my information on this subject, merely from word of mouth, never having read a word in a *London newspaper* since I left London, and not being able to rely upon those devils, even if I had read them, I cannot speak much in detail about the grounds and objects of this WHIG-WAR, undertaken for God knows what purpose, and upon God knows what grounds; but, addressing myself now to a very worthy friend in Derbyshire, and a very clever man, I say to him: Who, my friend, who is right now? When the French revolution of 1830 had taken place, I said: "The desirable thing is, that the French should at once march to the RHINE, and take complete possession of BELGIUM; for until they do that, liberty will never be safe against the despots; and, indeed, this revolution of the French will not be attended with any great benefit. And as to us, we ought to wish it by all means, as it will put an end to all that interference of ours in German affairs, which was begun by the base Whigs, and which has, at last, by the enormous debt and taxes which it has occasioned, produced all the ruin, misery, and feebleness which we now experience. If the French do not take possession of Belgium at once, we shall, somehow or other, get hooked into a war, to uphold its ridiculous '*independence*;' and, therefore, I am for the French marching into Belgium at once; and then the despots are muzzled." You, my Derbyshire friend, said that this was "*mischievous writing*." Do you not now think that it was wise writing? Do you not now see, that, if my advice had been acted on, there would have been none

of the slaughterings in Poland; and none of LOUIS-PHILIPPE's pretty tricks carried on in France? Do you not see, that we should not have been hooked into this pretty little war, for the purpose of sticking up our pensioner as a king over the Belgians, who, doubtless, *love* him as sincerely as they do every thing that is *Austrian*! I have no time to say anything more of the subject at present. But, certain I am, that this war, if it be not speedily put an end to, will put an end to the THING; and that, too, in a manner not the most smooth in all the world. That man must be blind, indeed, who does not see, that all the despots are supporting the Dutchman, and that LOUIS-PHILIPPE is on the sameside in his heart. These fellows must have been deaf as well as blind, if they did not hear our profound political "*feelosofical*" Lord Chancellor say, a little while ago, that he *rejoiced* that we were bound to keep the peace in a bond of "eight hundred millions." Whatever else *they* may be, whatever *sort* of offspring some of them may have, they are not, at any rate, such fools as to have for Ministers men who are sometimes *half-drunk*, and sometimes *half-mad*; and, therefore, those Ministers must have heard and paid attention to these words, this solemn and sober declaration on the part of our wise, our grave, our honourable, our noble, our reverend, our venerable Lord Chancellor; and, bearing that declaration in mind, what other motive do they want for setting us and our pensioner at defiance? If I were BROUGHAM, or DENMAN, or WILDE, I would send them some of the "*Useful Knowledge*" publications, and particularly the Government "*Penny Magazine*." I request my publisher in London to send off a copy of the last number of this proof of the wisdom of our Government, to each of the despots. If that do not dispose them to yield to us, and to let our pensioner sit quietly upon his throne, I am sure I do not know what can do it. In the fall of 1829, I think it was; or, perhaps, it was about the middle of the year 1830, when MACAULAY and JEFFREY were trying

to get BROUGHAM into the Ministry along with PEEL, and to exclude Lord GREY. At that time, I said, both in *Register* and "*Twopenny Trash*," "Let him come in for God's sake; for he is the very man to bring this THING to an end. Here he is: we have him; and, as old BURDETT most profoundly observed, in one of his shuffling, bombastical letters, here "*to have is to have*" in reality. We have him; the THING has him; and to pieces the thing goes (if it have him a little longer), as surely (and much about after the same manner), as a ship goes to pieces when slam upon the rocks, with the waves dashing against her ribs. I am writing this at DARLINGTON, on Tuesday morning, the 13. of November. On Sunday I rode round that ancient and sublime mansion, for ages called the "*Bird's-Nest*," but now called "BROUGHAM-HALL," in the county of Westmoreland. Upon beholding it, and thinking of the "*Seigneur*," and of all the circumstances connected with his "*feelosofical*" project, I could not help saying to my companions; "Don't laugh at the contemptible thing; don't laugh at the miserable spot, or rather speck of earth, nor at that *turret* there, just now stuck up upon one side of an old and common farm-house; don't laugh, for God's sake; for that lump of stones, small and contemptible as it is, and surrounded with land of not a quarter part of the value of my garden at KENSINGTON; don't laugh; for, remember, that I now tell you, that that contemptible spot will become famous in history as having been stuck into the title of a man who was destined by Providence "to pull the THING to pieces."—More of the WHIG-WAR when I go to the WEN.

JACK WALTER.

I HEAR that JACK is prosecuting people for libels on his character! Naughty rogues; to represent JACK as unworthy to be a member for the county of BERKS, and that, too, in spite of the jesting patriot, HARRY MARSH, who, filled by JACK's meat, and inspired by his wine,

is ready to swear that the "bloody old *Times*" was always a strenuous advocate of Parliamentary reform.

LORD BACON says, "that a professed jester will never stick at telling a lie;" and, certainly, so great, so impudent, so shameful a lie as this, scarcely ever came from the lips of mortal man before; and this, if the Whigs will let us have time before the election, I will go down into Berkshire and prove to the face of this jester, if he dare to come and meet me; I will prove to the jester's face, and to JACK's face, too, that this infamous and bloody newspaper, which had before justified the massacre of the Protestants at NISMES, and which had called aloud (upon the restoration of the BOURBONS), for the blood of the republicans of France; I will prove to the face of this jester, and the face of JACK, if they dare to meet me, that this infamous newspaper took the lead in urging SIDMOUTH and CASTLEREAGH and LIVERPOOL, to pass the dungeoning and gagging bills of 1817, in order to punish those who then were humbly petitioning for Parliamentary reform. I will quote the words of that newspaper, which I put upon record for a purpose like this, if the occasion should arise; and I will produce a published correspondence between JACK and STODDART, to prove that JACK was the conductor of that paper at that very time; and let the jester, crammed with JACK's turtle and venison, and drenched with his wine, come and face me before the people of his native county, whom he has thus been deceiving. Neither the beauties of Edinburgh nor of GLASGOW; nor those beauties, more congenial to my taste, on the banks of the CLYDE, made me quite forget JACK and his jester; but, approaching nearer to the scene, and finding that JACK, in his *quality of justice of the peace*, has applied to the judges for an *information* to prove that he is not unfit to be a county member of Parliament, I feel aroused on the subject; and, as I have a right to offer my advice to any part of my countrymen, my advice those of Berkshire shall have on this subject, and also the *grounds* of that advice.

The calumnies of this infamous paper against me I despise; but this is wholly another matter; for, is there upon the face of the whole earth a Tory for whom I would not vote in preference to this JACK WALTER?

N. B. There is a Mrs. LEWIS, who has applied to me several times, to publish her case. She has recently made application for this purpose to Miss BLUNDELL, who keeps my shop in *Bolt-court*; and this latter, with the sort of feeling which is natural to women, in such a case, has strongly pleaded the cause of Mrs. LEWIS. I have not thought proper to meddle with the matter, but I advise Mrs. LEWIS to go down into Berkshire, and there make a true and faithful representation of that, the subject of which she has so urgently requested me to take up; and here I drop this matter for the present.

DAILY PAPER.

IF I be returned a member to the Parliament, it is my determination to have under my control *a daily evening paper, to be published in London*, without which I should be fighting in muffles; I should be under the infernal hatches of the base and villanous *reporters*. Rather than herd with whom, I would beg my bread from door to door, and with whom I must herd, and whom I must treat with both guttle and guzzle, or see my statements either garbled and disfigured, or wholly suppressed. Therefore, I must have a daily paper under my control; and, if I be elected, have it I will. I intended to *drop the Register* at the end of the present year; but I shall *not do that*. It is *so efficient*! People have got into the habit of taking it in in clubs and societies so nicely. Like the sun, it sheds its beams so truly all over the kingdom, that I shall not cease to publish it until STURGES BOURNE'S BILLS be repealed, and the malt-tax and hop-tax and tithes be abolished, at any rate. I mention this affair of the daily paper *now*, in order that people may be prepared for casting off the dirty *Globe*,

and the other heaps of lies and of nonsense that now load the mail-bags throughout the country.

ACCOUNT OF SCOTLAND.

WHEN I get to London, which will be very soon after the publication of this *Register*, I shall at once set to work and publish, in a little and compact volume, my account of Scotland, adding to what has already been published, some matter that I find upon my notes, and which I had not time to introduce into the *Register*, and which, besides, I did not like to introduce as long as it was probable that the *Registers* would find me still in Scotland, lest the infamous "*reporters*" and the vagabond "*feelosofers*" should accuse me of *flattering the Scotch*, in order to insure a good reception amongst them. I am away from them now : it is possible, and even probable, and even likely (and all the world must see that it is so), that I may never see Scotland again ; and I should not be exceeded in baseness by any "*feelosofer*," or even by any "*reporter*," the pressure of whose vile carcass ever degraded the earth, if I were now to suppress any fact, honourable to the country or the people of Scotland.

TO THE

PEOPLE OF OLDHAM.

Darlington (Durham), 13. Nov. 1832.

MY FRIENDS,

I SHALL be at OLDHAM on Friday next, the 16. instant ; I shall sleep there that night ; shall set off for MANCHESTER the next morning ; shall sleep at Manchester that night, and shall set off for London next Sunday morning. This, my friends, is a time to be *stirring* : we have *talked* long enough : it is now, not a question of TALK, but a question of DO. Since I had the pleasure to see you, and shake your honest and hard-working hands ; *fifty-seven days* have passed over my head, which head, you know, is pretty

nearly as white as the cotton which you work upon. In the course of that *fifty-seven days*, I have delivered *forty-four* lectures, and two speeches at public dinners, having thus been *upon my legs seven days*, allowing as many hours to the day as you work in the factories ; for I have been thus speaking for seven times thirteen hours. During the same *fifty-seven days*, I have written *eight Registers*, in which there have been and are, on an average, *four columns* of my writing for each of the *fifty-seven days*, not including about a hundred letters that have been sent off by post. During the same time, *I have travelled nine hundred and thirty-seven miles* ; and have slept in four different cities, and in nineteen different towns. By DEED, therefore, as well as by WORD, I am endeavouring to inculcate the necessity of WORKING in this crisis of our country. Being persuaded, that the two factions are now busily at work in London, I am *pushing on to the scene* ; and, therefore, I must move in the time and manner above described. Indeed, there remains now nothing for me to say to you upon the subject of the ensuing election. You know your duty well ; and I know my determination ; which is this, not to have anything to do in making laws for the country, if I find that the people be not RESOLVED to stand by me while I endeavour to sweep away the taxes and abolish the tithes ; and, above all things, to sweep away STURGES BOURNE'S BILLS ; and to maintain and establish the RIGHT of every man and every woman TO BE upon, and to have (they obeying the laws) *a good maintenance out of*, the land of their birth, let whoever may be the owners of that land. This is my determination ; and this is all that I have to say to you at present, except that I always am

your faithful friend,
and most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

SOUTH-DURHAM ELECTION.

THERE seems to be a hot contest going on for the Southern Division of the County of DURHAM; and *both* the *factions* are united against Mr. PEASE, who appears to mean that the Reform Bill shall not be a *dead letter*. I here insert a second address of Mr. PEASE to the electors.

TO THE ELECTORS OF THE SOUTHERN DIVISION OF THE COUNTY OF DURHAM.

MY FRIENDS AND FELLOW COUNTRYMEN—As the crisis approaches which will terminate your present arduous struggle, I cannot refrain from reiterating my expressions of grateful feelings for the kindness and cordiality with which you have everywhere received me.

Having endeavoured to discharge my duty as a candidate for your independent suffrages, you will excuse me in making a few observations as to the line of conduct which I have thought it right to pursue, and also, upon your responsibility as electors.

My political opinions have been fully explained, my character and conduct are before you. I have not annoyed you by servile solicitations, but have rested on the assurance, that you are well qualified to judge of the fitness of those who may be proposed as your representatives in Parliament, and in the determination not to insult you, by presuming that either overpowering entreaties, or abject caresses, were required to induce you faithfully to perform your plain, though very important duties. To have attempted to prevail upon you to abuse your consciences, violate your opinions, or retract your pledges, would have been a gross outrage upon your freedom and your integrity.

Many opportunities have presented themselves, since I acceded to your flattering requisition, and these I have not disregarded of becoming still more intimately acquainted with the position which we in this division occupy; and the very depressed condition of many, who, in the industrious and praiseworthy pursuits of agriculture and commerce, are labouring under burdens of no common magnitude, and discouragements of threatening import. All this has but tended to increase my anxiety, even at the expense of much personal sacrifice, to contribute my most sincere (though at best but very humble) efforts, to discover and apply available remedies, to restore soundness and prosperity to the languishing interests of our country. I have listened to your observations with pleasure—I have derived instruction from your remarks on questions of vital importance; amongst these, the protection required to agriculture, those fixed charges upon land which weigh it down, in the shape of rates and contributions,

too numerous to mention. The currency of the realm, and in connexion with it, the present state of the Bank of England's Charter, have been prominent topics. If returned as your representative, it would be my earnest wish to reduce the burdens upon land, or rather, upon the farmer, to the greatest possible extent, and to diffuse those charges more equitably over property generally, thus, giving the rich a fellow-feeling with their poorer neighbours. And, as regards our *monetary* system, to encourage such a circulation of the currency on sound principles, as would tend to relieve and stimulate both agriculture and commerce. I am painfully sensible of the secret operation of that agency which through a change in the standard of value, or in other words, from a paper to a gold currency, has produced those fluctuations in prices, which have blighted hope, and destroyed many a fair estate. These observations will be well understood by such as are conversant with a farmer's income and outgoings—these know, that whilst produce has regularly declined in value, there has been no corresponding diminution in his expenses and burdens. I must however confess, that more intimate communication with you, and the conviction it has fixed upon me, of the mass of intelligence and talent which it is proposed that I should represent, has at times been very depressing in viewing the experience and abilities required for so truly serious a task, but the openness and candour of your sentiments—the confidence you have been pleased to express towards me, have again and again animated me with hope, that united as we are by our common interests and views, we may continue to blend our mutual sentiments and exertions, for the attainment of those great objects which are at stake. You must agree with me that the state of parties and their purposes, as developed in this election; in fact, everything which we see and hear around us, ought to increase our vigilance, and render us resolute and determined to admit of no dictation—to submit to no political fetters, however speciously they may be attempted to be imposed. We have good grounds for solicitude for the strenuous protection of that *reform* which has been so suspiciously commenced. Which of you does not see with alarm the existence of that corruption which it is destined eventually to destroy? Which of you does not behold great and powerful interest actively at work, either secretly or more openly opposed to alterations in our political transactions—to those great and judicious changes in the institutions of our country, which their very existence no less than the diffusion of greater light and knowledge, have rendered both expedient and necessary? Whilst then, we are careful to oppose sufficient obstacles to hasty innovation, let us anxiously consult the intelligence and moral temper of our country—let us diligently and patiently labour to afford every possible facility for real improvement, by peaceable and virtuous means. As the stream cannot be expected

to rise higher than its source, let us look closely to our consistency as electors, and inquire whether our conduct and principles are interwoven in that standard of integrity and justice, which we intend our representatives elsewhere to exalt and display. In contests like the present, let us avoid every practice which can have a tendency to endanger our political privileges, or to degrade our character. The assurances of support, and the number of names already enrolled on the canvass lists of the various committees, leave but little room to doubt the issue of this struggle, so far as regards myself. It is no light matter to enjoy the fullest conviction that this preference has been obtained by no unworthy means or arts. If I have been guilty of one act of meanness—if I have sacrificed or frittered away one principle—if I have fawned upon the great, or attempted to intimidate the lowly—if I have ever impugned the character of my opponents—if I have ever shrunk from the candid avowal of my sentiments—if I have ever shunned your interrogatories, or returned an insincere or evasive answer, though that answer might not be popular—if I have sought your approbation in the name, or through the imputed merits of another—if I have availed myself of the menaces of a landlord, or his agents—or of a master, either directly or indirectly—in a word, if with liberty, independence, and reform, on my lips, I have tampered with intimidation or corruption, or sought that protection and shelter under their wings, which public approbation and virtue had denied, and thus have acted so as to degrade you and your franchise to a level with that shameless political merchandise, which it has cost us so much to annihilate—you will award me my deserts; but, if on considering my conduct with that discrimination, which, from experience, I well know you will exercise—you are pleased to acknowledge that my course has been diametrically the reverse of this sketch—then, you will grant me the pleasure of avowing myself your fellow-labourer in a cause which involves our rights, our liberties, and the dearest interests of our country—in which reform, so far as it has yet proceeded, is viewed but as a means to an end—that end, under the Divine blessing, is the elevation, of the political, moral, and religious character of our race—as the best and only guarantee of our prosperity and happiness—an elevation of mind, which would bring with it adequate motives to serve the public, without regard to the love of greatness, honours, wealth, or rewards. The inscription on our banners will then be short, but it will be emphatic. In these words will our opinions be expressed—our judgment sealed—our purposes revealed,

“The truly good—the only great.”

I acknowledge a debt of gratitude, for the candid and liberal manner in which my pretensions have been treated and canvassed in the public prints, in various parts of the

united kingdom. If in the reports of my speeches, there has been an appearance of arrogance, which I never felt; or of personal allusions, which were never intended, I do sincerely regret it.

In conclusion I cannot entertain for one moment the thought that the generous preference you have shown me can fail, accompanied as it is by your extraordinary and indefatigable efforts in securing the triumph of your independence. When the day of election arrives, I shall be found at my post, till then, I repose on your attachment to those great principles which are at once both yours and mine, and your kindness towards myself as their humble though determined advocate.

I am, very sincerely and respectfully,

JOSEPH PEASE, Jun.

Southend, 11 Mo. 5th, 1832.

SPEECH OF MR. PEASE,

At Stockton, on Wednesday, Sept. 26, 1832.

(From the *Lurham Chronicle* of Sept. 28.)

MR. PEASE made a most triumphant entry into Stockton on Wednesday last. He was introduced to the electors by Mr. Bates, of Kirkclevington, and afterwards addressed the immense multitude who had assembled to greet his arrival, to the following effect:—When the people of England set up a man, who should take him down? And thus should it be done to the man whom the people delighted to honour. (Cheers.) He felt the full force of the kindness with which they had received him, because, whether he regarded it as a token of gratitude for any exertion he had made, in private or public life, to serve the interests of that district, or whether it was to be considered as a proof of their confidence, that both in private and public, he should adhere to the principles he had avowed—principles which embraced not only the happiness of the country at large, but were calculated to impart happiness to every private bosom, both as regarded the present and the future,—it could not fail to be deeply affecting to his heart. (Cheers.) After all that he could do or say, however, his cause must be left in their hands. Gratifying, however, as were the occurrences of this day, he doubted not they would cause him to be still further traduced—to be more and more maligned; because the higher a man got up, the better shot he was deemed by those who were below him. (Cheers and laughter.) Whilst he was little and low, he might be passed in the streets, and have no notice taken of him; but when the people got him on their shoulders,

he was a fair mark then. (Laughter.) The consequence had been everything he could expect or desire. (Cheers.) In every place he had gone to, he found he had been preceded by the most unfounded statements, not as to him individually, but as to his principles. Now, if he went into Parliament as their representative, there would not be one of them who could say that he had deceived or misled them; for on no occasion had he flinched, in public or in private, from declaring openly, fairly, and sincerely, what the principles were upon which he intended to act. (Cheers.) The long addresses he had circulated contained allusions to every topic upon which it could be presumed that he could be required to address them on this occasion. So far was it from being necessary to uphold his cause by resorting to unworthy means, his friends were increasing in every quarter—in all parts of the Division a support had been tendered to him—not compelled, but voluntarily tendered—of which any man alive might well be proud. (Cheers.) He believed there never was a day like this in Stockton; and triumphantly did it prove his position, that when the people chose to take up a man, none could take him down. (Cheers and laughter.) He would not be taken down there to-day; and he should be much disappointed if a day which should see him taken down, with reference to this election, at any place, should ever arrive. (Cheers.) He understood that many of that worthy and estimable class, the agriculturists, were in the crowd. He did not know a farmer from another man, unless it was for his honest face—(a laugh);—but he saw so many honest faces below him, he could not tell how to distinguish which were farmers and which manufacturers; and he believed the longer they lived, the more they would find that it was not by the face, no, nor by the birth, or by the breeding, but for the inclination we should feel to support, maintain, and express sound principles, we should be judged by our fellow men. (Loud cheers.) Wherever he had enjoyed the opportunity, he had felt the greatest possible pleasure in explaining to gentlemen connected with agriculture his views upon that subject in general, and the desire he had, in reference to their situations as individuals, to promote its success and prosperity. (Cheers.) He had reason to believe, that in nine cases out of ten, if not in ten cases out of ten, he had given satisfaction. But it had been said to him, "Speak out." He had no objection to "speak out" on any point that might be put to him, and on this subject in particular. (Cheers.) He was bound to confess that agriculture was far from being in a prosperous state; and it would be the duty of their future representatives to inquire diligently into the cause of that effect. (Cheers.) It was useless to complain of a thing unless we set about remedying it—it was of no use to complain of the water being bad, if we knew the well was foul, and we took no pains to cleanse it. (A laugh.) We must

go back to first principles. Agriculture must be protected by a law controlling the admission of foreign grain into this country—otherwise he knew there was a power in foreign countries to throw upon our market such quantities of produce,—grown, too, by men who had no such imposts to bear as the English cultivator had to contend against—that the question would be, not whether a third, or a half, of the English soil should be laid waste, but whether, as was his candid opinion, the whole of it would not be thrown out of cultivation. (Cheers.) He believed he expressed these sentiments on the soundest data possible. He did not speak unadvisedly; for it would not become him, standing in the situation of a candidate for their favour, to express opinions on this, or any other subject, which he had not calmly and dispassionately weighed. (Cheers.) Now, his own local knowledge, his intercourse with foreigners, and the information he had collected from various publications, convinced him that there was a power in foreign countries to deluge this with corn, at prices at which it could not be grown by our own farmers. (Cheers.) Building, as he did, the prosperity of England upon agriculture, he could not, to please any person who held opposite sentiments, adopt a creed which was contrary to his own convictions; and as a proof of his sincerity on this question, he might state the fact, that when applied to, in another county, to give his support to a candidate who was not, as it was called, a friend to agriculture, he refused to do so on that very ground. (Cheers.) With regard to this great question, he was sorry to say, that in some points of view, it presented itself to his mind under a very discouraging aspect. They had very little reason to hope that they would obtain, from the House of Commons, a higher scale of duties than that which they at present enjoyed; but if it could be shown to him that it was necessary to alter that scale, he would be an advocate for the measure. The system of averages and of bonding might require correction; but in whatever changes he might concur, his object would be to secure to the English farmer a price something like 7s. or 8s. per bushel; for with less than that he knew there were many thousand acres of land, in this and the adjacent counties, that would not pay for farming. (Cheers.) But however anxious he or his brother candidates might be that prosperity should be found at every farmer's fire-side, it was not for him to promise that any measure should make land pay for growing corn which could not yield ten bushels per acre. (Hear, hear.) He had no objection to enter into calculations with them if they pleased. Now, supposing they divided the country into three parts. Take land that was worth 40s. per acre, and tithe free, if they could find any such (a laugh); and premise that the course of husbandry should be the regular one observed in the country—fallow, wheat, clover, and wheat again,—

Two years' rent at 40s., would be..	£4	0	0
Expenses, taking the average of 4 years—Fallow, Wheat, Clover, and Wheat.....	4	13	6
Poor's Rate, Highway Rates, County Rates, &c.....	0	3	0
Interest on 4l. 13s. 6d., 5 per cent., for interest, and 5 per cent. for wear and tear, 10 per cent. in the whole	0	9	4
	9	5	10
Produce, 30 bushels per acre, at 8s.	12	0	0
Gain per acre	£2	14	2

Now a man with such a farm as this might live; though he (Mr. P.) had not allowed for bad harvests or for tithes, because, for the present, he would sink that question. But suppose they came down a peg; and took land of an inferior quality, the rent of which should only be 20s. per annum. In this case the farmer was subject to the same expenses, if he did justice to the land; and it was no penny or twopenny matter; they all knew that. (Cheers and laughter.)

Rent, 2 years, at 20s.	2	0	0
Expenses, 3 items as above	5	5	10
	7	5	10
Produce, 15 bushels per acre, at 8s.	6	0	0
Loss per acre	£1	5	10

Or, 7s. 1d. left per acre, for rent.

Many persons might say they could manage a farm at less cost than this. But he was not to be told that a man should live upon potatoes, because he should live as he ought to live. And if a farmer said he could manage at a less cost than he (Mr. P.) had described, let him be asked whether he paid his servants 2s. 6d. per day; for a man should not have less; and whether his ploughs and farming gear were in good condition. All these things should be taken into account. But let them take land that would produce, not 30 bushels per acre, 15, or even 12, but 7, as many of them knew was too often the case. And here (as we understood him) he would observe, that however landlords might consider they obliged tenants by letting them farms, in such cases as this the obliged party was not the tenant, but the landlord, who made the best bargain by getting them off his hands. (A laugh.) Thus, taking the worst quality of land,

Two years' rent, at 10s.	1	0	0
Then the same expenses as above..	5	5	10
	6	5	10
Produce, 7 bushels, at 8s.	2	16	0
	£3	9	10

Or, loss per acre, 1l. 4s. 11d., without any rent.

Why such land would be immensely dear without any rent at all. (Cheers.) How could he hold out any hope of relief to a man so situated? To do so, he should be a gross deceiver. (Cheers.) He might say, as many a candidate had said, "Vote for me, and I will do something for you." But many a man who had relied upon such promises had found a passage across the wide Atlantic the only means of escaping from the consequences of such a delusion. (Cheers.) If any man should come to them and say he could make such land yield a profitable return, whether it paid rent or not, he (Mr. P.) would tell them, that in his opinion, the assertion would be a downright lie. (Cheers and laughter.) He repeated that if any gentleman wished him to do so, he was willing to go still farther into details connected with this important question—for he was equally desirous to state his own views, and to hear the opinions of others. He was ready and anxious to learn all he could on this subject, and had no wish to go to Parliament with his fingers in his mouth. (Laughter.) He had endeavoured to add all he could to his stock of information since he first came before the county as a candidate; and this made him say, that while he would do every thing in his power to ensure prosperity to agriculture, he neither could nor would, for the purpose of obtaining their support, promise to do that which neither he nor any other man could ever hope to perform. (Cheers.) He could not do impossibilities; therefore, it was useless to make such professions. But he had pledged himself before, and he would do so again to-day, to look into the cause, which, as he had already observed, had produced this effect, and to do what he could to remedy the evil, but no more. (Cheers.) He wished to promote the interests of agriculture for this reason. What was the use of the manufacturer making goods, if he had no customer to buy them? And who was his best customer? Why, the farmer. (Cheers.) That was, in good times; for he feared that many of them had not been able to command many superfluities lately. (Cheers, and cries of "True.") But he would yet go to Parliament impressed with the consciousness that the interests of agriculture and of manufactures were so identified with each other as to be inseparable. He had spoken of the dependence of the manufacturer on the farmer; but where, on the other hand, would be the utility of a farmer growing more corn, or raising more cattle or sheep than he could barely consume at his own table, unless, in his turn, he had the manufacturer to purchase them? (Cheers.) Every man must know how the two interests hung together. The manufacturer would not make goods unless he had the farmer to buy them, and the latter would have no occasion to carry cultivation beyond the limits of his garden, unless he had a market for his produce with the manufacturer. (Cheers.) When, for instance, trade was bad in Lancashire, he need not tell them what effect it had on the Darlington and

Stockton markets. Breeders either would not bring their stock to market; or if they did, they had to drive them home again, and after keeping them another year, sold them, perhaps, 5s. per head higher, out of which they had to pay for the year's keep. (Cries of "True, true.") Such was always the case when the condition of the manufacturing districts were depressed; for no man would pretend to say that this could be the consequence of foreign competition. (Cheers.) They were recommended, in a hand-bill he had seen, to send to Parliament only such men as had landed estates, and who would look to the protection of the agricultural interest alone. They might adopt that advice if they admired it; but for his part he thought it would be just as reasonable to return only men who had but one eye. (Loud laughter.) They might depend upon it, that if a man had to go to Parliament to do any good, he must have both his eyes—aye, and keep them open, too, or he would make a left-handed business of it. (Much cheering and laughter.) But he was surprised that individuals from whom, considering their rank and station in life, better things might have been expected, should hold the opinions they did upon this subject. He was not going to follow their example, by crying up agriculture, or any one interest more than another. (Cheers.) But he should endeavour to show, in a few words, how certain individuals, who turned upon their heels as if they felt insulted whenever commerce was mentioned, deluded themselves in entertaining the extreme opinions which they professed to hold on this question. No man need be ashamed of speaking of his progeny; and he believed he might claim a very near relationship with the railway connected with this town. (A laugh.) Now, that very railroad—a commercial undertaking be it remembered—which had been so traduced, poor thing, that if it had not been as hard as iron—(a laugh)—it must have been knocked down long ago,—that railroad, he was prepared to demonstrate beyond the possibility of doubt or contradiction, had been productive of immense benefit to the agriculture of the district through which it passed. (Hear, hear.) Yet persons were to be found who could cry "Stand agriculture—down with commerce!" Now, let them contemplate the facts. Since the formation of that railroad, 6,000 inhabitants had been added to the population of the district. (Loud cheers.) If they considered that each person, little or big, old and young, consumed, on the average, half a stone of meal per week, this would increase the consumption of the district 52,000 bushels per annum, or about 7,531 sacks of fine flour. (Cheers.) The farmers had now no longer any occasion to go badgering to London to sell their flour; for they could dispose of it at their own doors! Then there was the extra consumption of beef, butter, cheese, and malt; things which colliers liked (a laugh); for however farmer's labourers lived, colliers knew very little about short

commons. (Renewed laughter.) A grocer told him, a few days ago, that when wages were good, they would have nothing but green tea and loaf sugar; and even when they were low they had coffee and moist sugar. (Much laughter.) But it was not the grocer alone who shared the plunder; it was diffused in various streams, and all went to augment the quantity of human comfort and happiness. (Cheers.) When that railway was commenced, its enemies prophesied that it never would be finished. And then, when it was finished, that it must go down—it could never prosper. It had, however, been twelve years in operation; and now let them inquire what effect it had produced during that period. Was it nothing that 100 ships weekly entered the Tees, where, previous to the construction of the railway, such a number were hardly seen in 6 months? (Cheers.) But this was not all. The coal-trade was going on improving, bringing into the district, in the course of the year, from 200,000l. to 250,000l. in ready money, of which they never saw one stiver before. (Loud cheers.) Then there was that enlargement in the trade of the town, consequent upon the increased traffic in the river, which was so advantageous to the inhabitants of Stockton. And there was another material point to be borne in mind. Committees of the two Houses of Parliament had "sifted" the coal-trade, to ascertain what it was; and it was stated, in the course of the inquiry, by one of the Messrs. Brandling, that because competition in that trade had become so great, especially from Stockton, they were not able, in the North, to sell coals, in 1830, as high, by 2s. or 3s. per chaldron, as in 1828. (Great cheering.) Now, if the people of Stockton did not get the benefit of that, such benefit was enjoyed by some other portion of the community. The saving that would accrue to the public, in the price of coals, estimating the vend at 1,500,000 Newcastle chaldrons, would amount, at 2s. per chaldron, to 150,000l. per annum; thus proving the truth of that beautiful principle of commerce, that a man cannot mend his situation in life without bettering that of his neighbour's also. (Cheers.) The consequence, therefore, was, that while the railroad did well for the proprietors, it had drawn, to this part of the kingdom, trade from the Land's End to Aberdeen, and a large portion of our fellow-creatures were indebted to the enterprise of the southern division of the county of Durham for obtaining one of the first necessities of life at a cheaper price than they had ever done since the word "coals" was known in this country. (Great cheering.) To return more immediately to the subject of agriculture. He could assure his hearers, that some of the agriculturists were long-headed men. They had subjected him, in many places, to the most minute and searching inquiries: they had used their smallest tempes with regard to him. (A laugh.) He did not know how other candidates had fared; but with himself the scrutiny had been most severe

and unsparing. They had made him produce his title deeds, down to the minutest parchment, before they would grant him their confidence. The employment of this system, however, had only served to place him more firmly in the public regard; for he had the satisfaction of knowing that, in nearly every instance, as he had before stated, his explanations had been sufficient to secure approbation of his principles. (Cheers.) He had been surprised to find some agriculturists hold the opinions they did on the question of tithes. He did not mean to make that a prominent topic of observation here; but he would refer to it for the purpose of explaining how tithes operated to the injury of the farmer and the disadvantage of the public. Suppose a farmer took a farm at a rent of 210*l.*; but his landlord, after striking his bargain, says, "Oh, but I forgot—this farm is tithe-free; and I must lay on a sixth (he believed that was the rate) to the rent—which would thus be advanced to 245*l.* This was no *tenth* business. (Hear and laughter.) Now, he should like to see the good old times revived when the farmer used to calculate upon realising three rents, one for the landlord, one for expenses, and the third for himself. (Cheers.) He did not know how the calculation might be made at the present day; but he was apprehensive that, in nine cases out of ten, the farmer was afraid to put pen to paper on the subject. (Cheers.) The rent, then, for this farm, would be 245*l.*, which on the former principle of calculation, would make the gross produce of the farm 735*l.* Now, if it had been taken at the rent originally stipulated, the produce, by the same mode of calculation, should have amounted to 630*l.*; and the tithe of that would have been 63*l.*, whereas the additional rent imposed by the landlord, on account of the exemption from tithe, would have been 28*l.* less than the value of the tithe. So that the loss to the farmer, by the operation of the tithe system, as contra-distinguished from increase of rent, would have been the sum he had mentioned—which showed that nothing like the value of the tithe was ever laid on in the shape of rent. (Cheers.) But again; supposing the farmer took a twenty years' lease, and expended 1,000*l.* in improvements, calculating upon 10 per cent., or 100*l.* a year, for the employment of his capital. But if the tithe-farmer should say, "Out of that 100*l.* I must have 10*l.*," the loss would be, during the period of the lease, no less than 760*l.*—and without the improvements 560*l.*! Was he not justified then, in saying that the tithe-system was a bar to improvement—a public detriment and injury? (Loud cheers.) (After some further calculations tending to show the mischievous operation of tithes, Mr. P. proceeded.) Tithes were the means given to promote a certain end; and, therefore, when he heard it asserted that the clergy had the same right to the tithes that he had to his estate, he was compelled to ask, how did it happen the clergyman could

not receive them without his (Mr. P.'s) consent. He could not get them if his (Mr. P.'s) land were laid in fallow—if he grew no corn, or suffered his hay-crops to rot on the ground. (Cheers.) There was no law to force the cultivation of his ground; and such being the fact, what became of the absolute "property" of the clergy in the tithes? (Cheers.) Why, it was only the other day that 43 clergymen of this diocese had raised a cry against pluralities. They objected to a clergyman holding 2 or 3 livings; but who ever heard of a complaint being breathed against a man having 2 or 3 estates? (Great cheering.) It would really appear from this, that the clergy, whatever they might say, were beginning to think that the tithes were not so much their own as they pretended. (A laugh.) There were laws against simony in the church; but who ever heard of a simoniacal contract with regard to land. (Much laughter.) There was, indeed, a property in advowsons; but these were a peculiar sort of animal. (Laughter.) But though there might be a property in the right of presentation to a living, could anything be more monstrous than the assumption that, in consequence of such presentation, the incumbent should exact a tax upon the skill, capital, industry, and enterprise of the whole parish? (Much applause.) He would not say that he would take a radical part on this question; but he would at least endeavour to do his duty. (Cheers.) The time would come—it was fast approaching—when it would be asked what right these men had to more than a tenth of the fee of the land—when there could be no calculation of fifths or tenths, but when each clergyman should be paid according to the extent of his usefulness, and upon no other scale. (Cheers.) He was very anxious for the sake of godliness, that the clergy, on this question, should meet the people half way. They were the best friends of the church who persuaded them to concession. (Cheers.) Let them go across the Irish Channel, and learn by what they might witness there, that it is impossible for a church or a state to stand out against a combined people. (Immense cheers.) For these reasons, and for the sake of harmony, peace, and religion, the sooner there was a fair and equitable consideration of this case, the sooner the question should be properly and judiciously settled, so as to satisfy the people, the better for the people, but threefold better for the church. (Loud cheers.) It had been suggested to him, as he entered the town, that he should say something on the subject of corporeal punishments in the army. The practice was one which he reprobated with all his heart; and which he would do his utmost to put an end to, to whomsoever it applied, whether to blacks or to whites. (Cheers.) Several persons had asked him if he did not know that there were such things as White Slave Owners? He knew that he had been charged with being one of these, as he presumed his enemies would charge him with anything to serve their own purposes. But

they did not know that he was one of the strongest sticklers for "Sadler's Bill," as it was termed. (Great cheering.) He rejoiced to say he had no reproach on his conscience on this point. While masters or parents, for there was as much culpability on the one hand as on the other, were willing to sacrifice the rising generation, by confining them to excessive toil, he thought it was absolutely necessary for the Government to interfere. (Cheers.) The first step to be taken was to abolish all-night labour in factories. (Cheers.) Masters would not sit up to pursue it, and why should children do so? (Cheers.) Actuated by these feelings, he had spent many an hour with Mr. Sadler, and, months before he thought of standing here as a candidate, had done all in his power to make that bill as imperative and effectual as he possibly could. (Loud cheers.) But the strangest argument to which he had to listen, as opposed to his return, was one which had been used by certain persons high in religious functions and authority—and one gentleman especially, who had a son in the church, had told him, that though he believed he would go into the House of Commons an honest man, he would not come out such. (A laugh.) For all his honesty, however, he knew the reverend gentleman would not give him his vote. (Laughter.) He said to him, "You come forward on Christian principles." He replied, "I do so." "You cannot carry them into execution in the House of Commons." What should he say to this? He could only say, that if Christianity were available, it must be available in every situation in life. (Cheers.) To concede the converse of that proposition was to say, that though Christianity was a very good thing, we would only take as much as we liked of it, and leave the rest. (Cheers.) But he agreed with Mr. Fox, that when we diverged from the line of moral rectitude we also went politically wrong, and that honesty in public, as well as in private life, would be found the best policy. (Loud cheers.) He considered the assertion, that Christian principles could not be successfully maintained in the legislature, far too bold and daring. Let it be recollected what the word most in vogue in that quarter had been. It was "expediency." Now the only change which his profession embraced was the difference between "expediency" and "justice." He knew what "expediency" had done for the country. Let them look around. He knew that "Christian principle" would remedy slavery; but "expediency" would not set the negro at liberty. (Cheers.) He knew that "Christian principle" said war was wrong, and that it was our interest to live at peace. But it was said that it was not; "expedient" that there should be peace; and he knew, that during the last war, when the chaplains of the army had to preach of "peace" they were instructed not to say a word against war. (Much laughter.) Might not "Christian principle" too, be well applied to our embassies; and if instead of

sending out a man with a splendid name to Vienna, or elsewhere, to protect the interests of the country, we were to employ an honest, well-meaning man of "principle," would not the consequences be better both for ourselves and the world? (Cheers.) What was it that gave the envoys of America their advantages over the great men of our own country, but their thorough acquaintance with the principles of trade, which the magnates of our own land so much despised that they would take an anodyne if they presumed there was a possibility of their even dreaming of trade? (A laugh.) Such men had no chance when pitted against a long-headed Yankee. (A laugh.) If, therefore, they would place all the country had lost through "expediency" in contrast with what it might have gained through "Christian principle," they would see the rock upon which the ship of state had already split, and from which it was desirable to protect it for the future. Till we adopted something like "Christian principle," as the foundation of our policy, in trade and agriculture, as well as in peace and war, it would be vain to expect national prosperity; and therefore, whatever might be said as to his losing his principles, which he regarded more than life, he meant to attempt it. He might be told his "Christian principles" were like a mathematical proposition, very beautiful in theory, but would not work in practice. He meant, however, to try them; because if he had any hope of serving his country, setting aside any local interests by the advocacy of which a man might acquire popularity, it would be by legislating in a spirit accordant with that blaze of light, knowledge, and understanding, which had burst upon the mind of the English people, with a force and effulgence that were without example in this or any other country. (Cheers.) Popularity had always, heretofore, been attached to the wheels of the great; who, if they could not win could buy it; but that day is gone by, and he was the living proof. (Loud cheers.) His hopes were these,—that the electors of England, at this crisis, would set aside all minor considerations, and do their duty by returning to Parliament none but men who had given proofs that they sought only to promote the interests of their fellow-men, and who were anxious for the spread of everything useful or valuable in politics, morals, and religion. (Cheers.) Then might we expect to see the dawn of our country's regeneration, and to behold the sun of British prosperity rise to an altitude from which nothing could reduce it. (Cheers.)—Mr. Pease then thanked the assemblage for the kindness with which they had listened to him; and after offering some jocular remarks upon a statement that had gone forth, that he had but one speech for all occasions, and exposing the absurdity of the imputation, concluded amidst the reiterated cheers of the crowd by declaring it was his firm purpose, if he were blessed with life and strength, to do

his best to serve them and the country—an Angel could do no more!

CARMARTHENSHIRE JUSTICE-OF-PEACE WORK.

(From the Morning Chronicle of 6. November.)

THE people of England are grievously mistaken, if they suppose that they can obtain the blessing of good Government and a fair and impartial administration, of justice throughout the country, without many a hard struggle. The Tories are united and powerful. They are, of course, no match for the people when the people pull together. But the moment the people relax, the Tories are ready for mischief. The Tories, yet have nearly the whole working of the administration. The lord-lieutenants are nearly all Tories; and the magistracy throughout all the country are nearly all the creatures of the Tory lord-lieutenants. These magistrates have, as every one knows, great power to annoy and persecute; and woe betide the honest man who at the last election agitation made himself conspicuous in promoting the return of reform candidates. In some places the magistrates proceed to most disgraceful lengths in wreaking their vengeance on those who are opposed to the return of Tory candidates.

A strong proof of the truth of these remarks has been recently furnished in the borough of Carmarthen. That borough has been thrown into a state of great excitement by the commitment to prison of George Thomas, Esq., one of its most respectable inhabitants; an attorney who has the largest practice, and is possessed of a large property independently of his profession.

On the last charter day, as our readers may remember, there were riots in Carmarthen. The next day Mr. Thomas was arrested, and liberated for fourteen days, on finding bail himself for 1,000*l.* and two sureties for 500*l.* each. At the expiration of that term, he was put in prison, and bail refused, though tendered to any amount. Mr. Thomas was obliged to apply to the Court of King's Bench, and the Judge (Mr. Justice Pat-

tison) on Saturday week, stated, "he never heard of a more gross case, and could not conceive how any justices could commit a respectable gentleman to prison for feloniously demolishing a house, when it appeared on the statement of the witnesses for the prosecution, that all the damage was done before he got there." The riot was made a handle of to arrest this gentleman, allowed by his very Tories enemies to be an honourable and most upright man. He was committed for felony, in riotously assembling with divers other evil-deposed persons, and with force beginning to demolish and pull down the dwelling-house of one John Davies. This man, John Davies, had fired two pistols, and wounded a boy without any provocation, in consequence of which outrage his windows were broken by the incensed populace, a full hour before Mr. Thomas went to the house for the purpose of apprehending him. Davies, the perpetrator of this outrage, is suffered to go at large, and the gentleman who interfered to bring him to justice is treated as a felon?

And now for the motive for this flagrant departure from justice. The real crime of Mr. Thomas is the having called and taken the lead in the numerous public meetings which have taken place in that spirited town, and in the county of the same name, in favour of the Reform Bill, and the having, by his talents, perseverance, and popularity, been mainly instrumental in securing beyond a doubt the return to the new Parliament of excellent reformers for both the borough and county; but, above all, the having counselled John Jones, Esq., the present Tory member, to pledge himself to vote for the Reform Bill in all its stages, without which he had no chance of securing his election.

In an address to the electors of the county of Carmarthen, and of the united burghs of Carmarthen and Llanelly, dated the 2d of November, Mr. Thomas thus expresses himself:

"Electors of Carmarthenshire—I charge the Hon. Col. Trevor with sanctioning or conniving at the pro-

"ceedings against me. I can prove
 "that the staff of the militia *commanded*
 "by him, were examined at *his com-*
 "*mittee-room*, and it is well known
 "that three of the justices elected last
 "charter day are officers of his staff,
 "and that the mayor and the others are
 "strenuous supporters of his preten-
 "sions to represent you in Parliament.
 "The gallant Colonel may *affect* to
 "treat this charge with contempt; but
 "until he disclaims it, I will repeat it
 "incessantly, and heard him at the
 "hustings. Recollect that all the votes
 "of the hon. Colonel during his parlia-
 "mentary life for ten years were uni-
 "formly against the public welfare—
 "that he opposed the repeal of the
 "salt-tax, working-horse-tax, and all
 "other taxes—that he opposed the re-
 "peal of the test-act, and every other
 "measure for extending the rights of
 "conscience to dissenters of all classes
 "—that he and his noble father have
 "used all their influence to prevent the
 "erection of dissenting chapels, and
 "annoy dissenters—that Mr. Daniel
 "Prytherch, the chairman of his central
 "committee, has written the insolent
 "letter to your landlords, urging them
 "to *compel* you to vote for the enemy
 "of your rights and liberties.

"Electors of Carmarthen and Llanelly
 "—To prove that the *present* Member
 "for Carmarthen is the prime instigator
 "of the charges against me, would be
 "to insult your understandings. The
 "mayor and six justices are notoriously
 "appointed *by him*; and I challenge
 "them to deny that they have consulted
 "him upon their recent proceedings.
 "The votes of this political weather-
 "cock *against* reform last year, his sub-
 "sequent hypocritical and compulsory
 "votes in favour of that great measure
 "—his tyrannous indictments, warrants,
 "and committals, are fresh in your
 "memory. He has now thrown off
 "even the *mask of reform*, and sup-
 "ports with all his might the *consistent*
 "anti-reformer, Trevor."

One purpose was answered by the
 kidnapping of Mr. Thomas. He had
 been appointed by the reform candi-
 dates for the borough and county to

travel with the registering barristers on
 their circuit, and support the objections
 to the Tory voters.

"To my particular care (he says) was
 "confided the objections which I *sug-*
 "*gested* to the Laugharne and Saint
 "Clears burgesses in the interest of
 "Colonel Trevor and Sir James—the
 "notices were given by me, and previ-
 "ous to my detention here, I had pre-
 "pared myself with authorities and
 "cases to argue the objections, which I
 "was obliged to hand to a professional
 "friend, who, in consequence, obtained
 "some share of the credit which would
 "otherwise have been mine exclusively.
 "The result, I am happy to add, is,
 "that not fewer than *fifty-one voters* of
 "the above class have been lost to the
 "Tory candidate, besides many others
 "who have been disfranchised by my
 "*sole suggestion*. This is the 'head
 "and front of my offending.'"

The *Welshman* of October 26, in
 commenting on this strange arrest, ob-
 serves:

"The sensation produced in this
 "town by the commitment to prison on
 "a *charge of felony*, of our truly re-
 "spected townsman, G. Thomas, Esq.,
 "is indescribable. But one feeling ope-
 "rates, and one sentiment expressed,
 "relative to the harsh measures, adopt-
 "ed by our authorities against a
 "most active and useful member of
 "society. Last week, at the very time
 "that he was engaged, with his well-
 "known ability, urging and substanti-
 "ating objections to the claims of
 "Tories to the elective franchise, the
 "magistrates were assembled in the
 "committee-room of the Tory candi-
 "date, hearing witnesses against him,
 "and such witnesses, too, if our in-
 "formation as to the individuals be
 "correct, as we would not pollute our
 "columns by characterising. Who
 "these witnesses are is left to mere
 "conjecture to discover; and even what
 "they have deposed against him is cau-
 "tiously concealed. No opportunity
 "was afforded him of bringing forward
 "counter-testimony, with which, of
 "the most respectable kind, he is
 "abundantly furnished; and yet, by

“ means like this, is a gentleman of
 “ the first standing in his profession,
 “ and the father of eleven children,
 “ dragged from his home, and immured
 “ in a filthy prison! We admit that
 “ the Tory cause will be benefited by
 “ the proceeding, as his extensive legal
 “ knowledge would have thinned the
 “ ranks of the supporters of this party,
 “ had bail to any amount been ac-
 “ cepted, and he been allowed to ac-
 “ company the barristers now on this
 “ circuit to settle the franchise. Public
 “ disapprobation of the severity of those
 “ measures has been expressed during
 “ the week in many ways, one of which
 “ meets our entire approbation. A me-
 “ morial, signed by almost every re-
 “ spectable person in the town, has
 “ been forwarded to Lord Melbourne,
 “ praying the Government to institute
 “ an investigation into all facts con-
 “ nected with and resulting from the
 “ riots. In this step we entirely concur,
 “ as we have no doubt that it will receive
 “ suitable attention, and that justice
 “ will be thereby fully attained. The
 “ cause of the corporation party and
 “ their members is completely ruined;
 “ almost every independent man in the
 “ town, who heretofore supported Mr.
 “ Jones, has voluntarily joined the
 “ liberal party; and thus we have strong
 “ grounds for hoping that we will be
 “ spared the evils of a contested election.
 “ The majority of our popular candi-
 “ date, the Honourable W. H. Yelver-
 “ ton, is immense, and his return of
 “ course unquestionable. It is some
 “ satisfaction to witness good thus
 “ ‘ssuing from evil.’

The same paper of Friday last gives
 an account of the rejoicings in Carmar-
 then at the liberation of Mr. Thomas
 and a Mr. Henry Moss from prison.

“ Did we not (says the *Welshman*)
 “ so deeply participate in them, we
 “ could have envied the feelings of
 “ these gentlemen on yesterday morn-
 “ ing, when, surrounded by all the re-
 “ spectability, and nine-tenths of the
 “ population of Carmarthen, assembled
 “ without notice or design, they left the
 “ walls of a prison, and were once more
 “ restored to the embraces of their re-

“ spective families, and the comforts of
 “ their own fire-sides. The history of
 “ Carmarthen presents not so illustri-
 “ ous an instance of popular feeling
 “ spontaneously excited, and bursting
 “ forth in such perfect and general
 “ unanimity; and the occasion furnished
 “ these much-esteemed gentlemen a
 “ rich reward for all the inconvenience
 “ and annoyance they may have suffered
 “ from the puny despotism of their ma-
 “ levolent persecutors. As it was ge-
 “ nerally known that application had
 “ been made to the Court of King’s
 “ Bench to receive bail, and that the
 “ case would be heard on Tuesday, a
 “ large number of persons met together
 “ in Spilman-street, on the following
 “ night, awaiting the arrival of the
 “ London coaches. Their hopes and
 “ expectations were both realized, the
 “ news arrived, and was quickly com-
 “ municated, that bail was accepted,
 “ and that the prisoners would be libe-
 “ rated, as soon as some necessary forms
 “ could be gone through; these, how-
 “ ever it was understood, would cause a
 “ delay of nearly forty-eight hours. Not-
 “ withstanding this, on the following
 “ (Thursday) morning, crowds from all
 “ quarters were seen hastening towards
 “ the prison; women carrying *sawdust*
 “ with which to sprinkle the streets;
 “ boys and men with laurel branches,
 “ some of which they had already twined
 “ into arches, or suspended over the
 “ street from opposite windows; gen-
 “ tlemen with expressions of honest joy
 “ and exultation, hurrying to the scene
 “ to congratulate the prisoners, and to
 “ accompany them home.”

The Hon. Colonel Trevor and John
 Jones, Esq., have fallen into the pit,
 which, through the instrumentality of
 the magistrates their creatures, they
 had dug for Mr. Thomas. But what a
 state of things is that which we have
 unfolded! And though the magistracy
 may not everywhere be disposed to pro-
 ceed to such extremities in furtherance
 of Tory interests as in this case, yet
 they are everywhere opposed to the
 people, and possess this enormous power
 of harassing and persecuting all those
 who support the people. There does

not appear to be anything like a speedy prospect of the nation's acquiring better lord-lieutenants and better magistrates. We may thus prepare ourselves for years to see the people arrayed on one side, and all who possess power and authority arrayed on the other. The feeling of bitterness of the Tories at this time is inconceivable.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, NOV. 9, 1832.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

DENNIS, R., West Ham, Essex, victualler.

BANKRUPTS.

BAGLEY, J., Liverpool, haberdasher.
BOUCAUT, J., Albany-road, Camberwell, merchant.
BRUNTON, J., Southwick, Durham, ship-builder.
CARLOW, J., Birmingham, silk-mercator.
FIELD, A., All Saints, Canterbury, innkeeper.
FLORANCE, W., Corfe-Castle, Dorsetshire, surgeon.
FOSTER, E., Huddersfield, carver.
JACKSON, R. and M., George-st., Minorities, wine-merchants.
LANE, W. and S., Manchester, ironmongers.
LOCKINGTON, C., John-street, Oxford-st., oilman.
MOSS, J., Great Charlotte-street, Blackfriars-road, shoemaker.
NORTON, S. D., Watney-street, Commercial-road, licensed victualler.
PAUL, J., Exeter-street, Sloane-st., furniture-broker.
PIKE, H., Aylesham, Norfolk, money-scrivener.
SEARS, M. U., Charterhouse-sq., engraver.
SIMPSON, W. and T., Leather-lane, Holborn, builders.
TAYLOR, T., Egham, Surrey, tallow-chandler.
UDALL, J., Islington, carpet-warehouseman.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

KAY, J., Blenheim-place, Edinburgh, book-seller.

TUESDAY, NOV. 13, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

SCUDIER, J., Albemarle-street, Piccadilly, hotel-keeper.

HEILBRONN, I., Basinghall-st., merchant.
SIKES, S. G., Almondbury, Yorkshire, banker.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

COCKRILL, W., East Butterwick, Lincolnshire, corn-factor.

BANKRUPTS.

BURRELL, S., St. Ives, Huntingdonshire, linen-draper.
PEACHEY, J., Regent-street, ironmonger.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, NOV. 12.—Having a very moderate supply of wheat during last week, and there being a demand on Friday for shipping to Yorkshire, what then appeared of fine quality was readily disposed of at an advance of from 1s. to 2s. per qr., but notwithstanding the smallness of the supply this morning from Essex, Kent, and Suffolk, the trade was not so brisk as on Friday, and although a few superfine samples were sold at that day's improvement, no advance can be quoted on the general runs from the above counties. Fine old wheat is from 1s. to 2s. per qr. dearer, but the sales made at that advance were only to a limited extent.

Fine malting barley being scarce and in demand, is 1s. per qr. dearer, and the little that appeared of the stained sorts fully supported last Monday's prices.

Notwithstanding the immense arrivals of oats, there was not that depression in the trade which might have been expected from a continuance of such large supplies; for, at an abatement of 6d. per qr., extensive sales were made.

In beans and peas there was no alteration.

Wheat	56s. to 62s.
Rye	33s. to 35s.
Barley	26s. to 28s.
— fine	35s. to 38s.
Peas, White	38s. to 40s.
— Boilers	40s. to 43s.
— Grey	34s. to 36s.
Beans, Small	32s. to 36s.
— Tick	30s. to 32s.

Oats, Potato..... 20s. to 21s.
 — Feed 16s. to 20s.
 Flour, per sack 50s. to —s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 45s. to 48s. per cwt.
 — Sides, new... 50s. to 53s.
 Pork, India, new.... 130s. 0d. to —s.
 — Mess, new ... 77s. 0d. to —s. per barl
 Butter, Belfast 84s. to 86s. per cwt.
 — Carlow 80s. to 90s.
 — Cork 82s. to 84s.
 — Limerick .. 82s. to 84s.
 — Waterford.. 78s. to 84s.
 — Dublin 78s. to 80s.
 Cheese, Cheshire.... 56s. to 90s.
 — Gloucester, Double.. 50s. to 60s.
 — Gloucester, Single.. 44s. to 50s.
 — Edam —s. to —s.
 — Gouda —s. to —s.
 Hams, Irish..... 55s. to 66s.

SMITHFIELD.—Nov. 12.

This day's supply of beasts, though not so great as that of this day se'nnight, was numerous; but, as is usual at this time of year, on account of its being the practice with graziers to clear their land, by sending them to market, of those fleshy steers, &c. that are not likely to pay for being taken in to the close or stall,—in great part of middling and inferior quality; of sheep, calves, and porkers, but limited. Prime beef, and prime small mutton sold, though tardily, in some instances, at an advance of 2d.; but with other kinds of meat the trade was very dull; with veal at a depression of full 2d. per stone; with middling and inferior beef and mutton, as also pork, at Friday's quotations.

About one-third of the beasts were short-horns, chiefly half-fat steers, cows, and heifers, from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and Northamptonshire; and the remainder about equal numbers of Herefords, Devons, Welch runts, and small Irish beasts, from the same and our western and midland districts; with about 200 Town's-end cows, and a few Scots, Staffords, Sussex beasts, &c., from sundry quarters.

Full three-fifths of the sheep were new Leicesters, from the South Downs, or Hereford

crosses; about one-fifth South Downs; and the remaining fifth about equal numbers of Kents, Kentish half-breds, old Leicesters, and Lincolns; with a few polled and horned Norfolks, horned Dorsets, Aberdeeners, &c.

Beasts, 3,001; sheep, 17,260; calves, 230; pigs, 139.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Nov. 16.

The arrivals this week are small, but the prices remain the same as on Monday.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. Cons. Ann.	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
	83 $\frac{7}{8}$	83 $\frac{7}{8}$	83 $\frac{7}{8}$	83 $\frac{7}{8}$	83 $\frac{7}{8}$	83 $\frac{7}{8}$

CHEAP CLOTHING!!

SWAIN AND CO., Tailors, &c.,
 93, FLEET-STREET,

(Near the new opening to St. Bride's Church.)

BEG to present to the notice of the Public the List of Prices which they charge for Gentlemen's Clothing.

FOR CASH ONLY.

	£	s.	d.
A Suit of Superfine Clothes	4	14	6
Ditto, of Black or Blue	5	5	0
Ditto, Best Saxony	5	15	6
Plain Silk Waistcoats		16	0
Figured ditto ditto		18	0
Valencia ditto		12	0
Barogau Shooting Jackets	1	8	0
A Plain Suit of Livery	4	4	0

LADIES' HABITS AND PELISSES, and CHILDREN'S DRESSES, equally cheap; in the manufacture of which they are not surpassed at the West-end of the Town.

I recommend Messrs. Swain and Co. as very good and punctual tradesmen, whom I have long employed with great satisfaction.
 WM. COBBETT.

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